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The Records

OF THE

Borough of Northampton.

TWO VOLUMES,

Illustrated.

PREFACE BY

THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER ON THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN BY

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PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CORPORATION

OF THE

COUNTY BOROUGH OF NORTHAMPTON.

1898.

VOLUME TWO.

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The Records

OF THE

Borough of Northampton.

SECOND VOLUME.

1550 TO 1835.

BY

J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.,

Author of "Churches of Derbyshire,"
"Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals," "How to write the History of a Parish,"
"The Gardens of Scripture," &c.

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Preface.

EARLY in the spring of 1895 I was asked to report to the Town Council of Northampton on the condition and contents of their muniments with a view to printing and publication. In accordance with this request, a report was presented through the Town Clerk. Eventually, after some delay, the Corporation decided to undertake the publication of two volumes, the last of which has fallen into my hands. It was decided that those who did the work should do so on independent lines, so that I am only responsible for this volume. The plan adopted has no doubt its advantages, but it prevents any unity of action, or distinct method of treatment.

The later documents and books pertaining to the Corporation are very numerous, and require continuous comparison and collation in order to arrive at satisfactory results. The chief difficulty has been to compress each subject, so as to confine the result to the projected 550 pages. Some idea of the labour involved in the preparation of this volume can be formed, when it is stated that only a little more than one-third of what had to be copied was eventually used in its extended form.

No two people would probably entirely agree as to the best plan to follow in the arrangement of such a volume, or in the comparative importance to be given to specific subjects. All that can be said is that an honest attempt has been made to adopt

a practical and useful plan, and advice has been sought and followed, from several well qualified to give it.

Information other than that found in the local muniments has only been sparingly used; but where documents at the Public Record Office, British Museum, and Bodleian, etc., threw additional light on particular subjects, they have been carefully consulted and cited. It should, however, be clearly understood that this volume does not in any way pretend to be a history of Northampton from the time of Philip and Mary. No reference will be found in these pages to any subject that is not named in the local records. Nor are there any extracts from the records later than 1835, save in the list of mayors, which is brought up to date.

In addition to material help from several members of my own family, I desire to specially thank my friends, the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson and Mr. Bruce B. Muscott, for much literary assistance; Mr. H. Manfield for the excellent photographs of the Corporation insignia; and Mr. T. Shepard for his beautiful and careful drawings of the civil and ecclesiastical seals of the town and of the old Guildhall.

Several Northampton townsmen have put me under obligation by the generous loan of private manuscripts, prominent amongst them being Mr. W. D. Crick and Mr. H. G. Toser. The former put at my disposal a charming little set of eight MS. volumes relative to the town, containing a variety of information not found elsewhere, as well as the MS. record of the great election of 1767; whilst the latter lent the MS. chronicle termed "Northampton Mayors and Bailiffs, commencing in 1461, with several Remarkable Occurrences." On the inside of the cover is written "Joseph Hall, 1785. I wrote this Book, and continued it from the year above written." This last book is frequently referred to in the following pages as the Hall MS.

Nor must I omit to mention my continued indebtedness to the Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace, Mr. William Shoosmith, for his constant kindness, and for his readiness to give me the fullest access, at all times, to the literary storehouse in his charge. It is a pleasure, too, to thank my friend Mr. W. B. Shoosmith for much valued help.

A literary experience of thirty years at the Public Record Office and British Museum, has invariably caused me to be grateful for the courteous attention of the officials. Recent visits to both these public institutions, in connection with the production of this volume, have confirmed my previous oft-repeated opinions, but my particular thanks are in this instance due to the British Museum MS. authorities for leave to inspect a great number of "Additional Charters" pertaining to Northampton which are not yet calendared. Those desirous of obtaining careful and reliable help in record-hunting, or in any form of transcript work, cannot do better than put themselves in the hands of Messrs. Hardy & Page, of 21, Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn.

With regard to the index, which will, I trust, be found full and complete, the almost unanimous advice of experienced and practical men has been followed in making it a single index, instead of one of many divisions. It is the first time I have myself followed that method for a large book; but as a frequent index user, it commends itself much to my own judgment.

The particular circumstances under which this volume was produced have rendered it more liable than usual to author's slips and printer's errors when under revision. I have noticed about a score, but so far as I am aware, they are all trivial and readily detected, so it is not thought worth while to insert a list of errata. Doubtless, in a book covering so wide an area of subjects, there

are some more serious blemishes or mistakes. I shall be grateful to any one who will point them out to me, either privately or by way of review. Whatever may be its faults, it is the first time that a volume of this kind, dealing with the inner life and government of an English borough during the last three centuries, has been attempted.

J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

Holdenby Rectory,
October, 1897.

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SECTION ONE.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE TOWN MUNIMENTS—MANY OF THEM LOST IN THE FIRE—PLACED IN ALL SAINTS, 1553—COPPER OF 1608—THREATS TO BREAK OPEN IRON CHEST, 1664—CUSTODY OF THE THREE KEYS—NEW IRON CHEST IN 1790—MUTILATION OF DOCUMENTS BY ALDERMAN HALL, 1800—MR. BAKER, THE HISTORIAN—MR. STUART MOORE'S CALENDAR—PRIVATE CHARTERS, LEASES, AND EVIDENCES, FROM 1150 TO 1835—ORDERS OF ASSEMBLY, AND MINUTES OF THE ALDERMEN'S COURT—MAYOR'S AND CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNTS—LIST OF APPRENTICES AND FREEMEN, AND OTHER BOOKS—SEPARATE PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS—TRANSCRIPTS OF PUBLIC RECORDS FOR THE TOLL CASE—GENERAL AIM OF THIS VOLUME.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE information contained in the following pages is, in the main, gathered from the town muniments, excluding the charters and customary, which have been so fully treated of in the first volume.

In studying the records of so important a borough as Northampton, not a little disappointment is experienced in finding them exceedingly meagre up to the close of the reign of Henry VIII. There are, for instance, no records or rolls of even the briefest description, with regard to the town proceedings earlier than this date, whilst as to rolls or minutes of the various town courts held within the walls, there are none extant until quite recent years.

The terrible fire of 1675 was, in all probability, the cause of the loss of a considerable number of the town records. That the corporation were at one time possessed of a large series of records, made evident from the endorsements on many old grants and other deeds still extant, to the effect that these deeds had been enrolled on "The Rolls of the Memoranda of the Court of Northampton." The existing minute books also testify to the loss of many others; for they refer to the "Book of Processes," the "Steward's Book of Annual Memoranda of Court Proceedings," thd "Chamberlain's Book of Commons and Cattle," "Orphans Court Book," "Book of Escheats," and the "Bailiff's Journals," all of which are now missing. In other places references are found to the constable's books of the different wards or quarters. Town constable's books would certainly be kept at least as carefully as the many known examples in country parishes, and would be full of interesting matter relative to watch and ward, fires, arrests of suspects, &c.

Nevertheless, the town is much to be congratulated, not only on the rescue from the great fire of the charters, the customary, two large minute books, with a few other volumes, and a bundle or two of evidences, but also on the preservation of a considerable amount of valuable historical material of a later date.

The guildhall was one of the few buildings that was preserved from serious damage during the fire. Probably all the old muni-

ments that then escaped destruction were in safe keeping in one of the upper chambers. The town documents that had been stored in All Saints' church would almost certainly perish, for on the outbreak of the fire, the chief townsmen rushed to that great central stone building, there to deposit their portable treasures, but the flames made such leaps upon the church that the fabric and its contents were consumed with startling rapidity.

One of the very first years for which orders of the assembly are extant, gives proof of the care that the burgesses intended to take of their archives. In 1553, the town records were moved for safe keeping to the church of All Saints, which had recently been given to the mayor and burgesses of Northampton. At an assembly held in October of that year, it was agreed:—

That all the Recordes shalbe putt in the vestry of our lady Chapell in a presse to be lokked with iij lokkes & to have iij keys thereto & to be in severall mens keping that is to say in the maiors for one, another in the keping of one of the xxiiij. & the third in the keping of one of the xlviij yerly from hensforthe [to be brought in by the Stewarde yerly by the last of December]

The term "all the Recordes" would not refer to the whole of the muniments, for they could not be contained in a single press, even of considerable size; probably it meant all the records of court proceedings, the remainder of the muniments being still kept at the guildhall.

The following later entries afford further evidence of the interest that the corporation took, from time to time, in the due preservation of their muniments.

In 1607, the assembly ordered the chamberlains to provide—

One coffer or chest therein to inclose or put all wrytings escripts myniments & evidences whatsoever tendyng or concerning anie demise of anie land belonging to the Corporation, & that this same coffer or chest shalbe likewise provided three severall keyes, to wit one key for the Maior of the town of Northampton for the tyme being, and thother two keyes severallie for the Chamberlaines of the saide towne

On October 13th, 1664, the assembly passed a resolution, in connection with a dispute then raging with Mr. Vaughan, the ex-mayor, which shows that the more important writings were at that time kept in an iron chest —

That the great Iron Chest in wch the towne Records & writeings doe lye be broaken open unlesse Mr. Vaughan doe forthwith Deliver the Key (to the Mayor) of one of the Padlocks belonging to the s^d Chest.

A somewhat later entry shows that the three keys of this record

chest were in the respective custody of the mayor, the senior chamberlain, and one of the bailiffs. The custody of these keys, however, differed at various periods.

The mayor's accounts for 1745 state that three new padlocks were provided for the corporation chest, at a cost of 4s 6d.

A new iron chest and its carriage, for the town hall, cost £3. 9s., in 1790. The mason's charge for building this safe into the wall, was 11s.; and the carpenter's for making a cupboard for it, 9s 11d.

A case for books at the town hall, in 1800, cost £5. 12s. 9d., whilst £4. 14s 6d was paid for a lock for the same, with six keys.

The costly litigation of 1831-3, usually known as the great toll case, to which future reference will be made, brought to light some curious facts with regard to the occasional careless treatment of town documents. Mr. Theophilus Jeyes, when under examination in court, stated that he became town clerk in 1800, and that in that or the following year, he one day found Alderman Hall (who had twice served as mayor, and was then one of the magistrates) with a great number of leases, old charters, and other documents belonging to the corporation, spread out on a table in the guildhall. He had taken a pair of scissors out of his pocket, and was in the act of clipping off the margin, with seal and signatures, from a lease, with the probable intention of giving it to some seal collector Mr. Jeyes remonstrated, but the alderman laughed, and cut several others, saying that these old things were quite useless, and had better be destroyed. However, he suffered the town clerk to rescue the mutilated lease, and the rest were restored to their proper place. It so happened that this very document was a lease of the town tolls, and had to be produced in court, whereupon Mr Jeyes gave this evidence to account for its mutilated condition. He further stated that the alderman had taken the deeds out "a very old wooden chest, bound with iron, in an upper chamber of the guildhall."

In 1813, Mr. George Baker, the local historian, applied for leave to inspect the corporation journals, records, and other documents, in order to assist him in an intended history of the town and county of Northampton, which he was about to publish. The assembly granted him full access to everything, under the direction of the town clerk, provided that nothing was taken out of the town clerk's custody.

Mr. Stuart A. Moore, F.S.A., did a good work for the corporation in 1864, when he drew up a manuscript calendar of the archives and muniments, having previously arranged them with much care. He also made a full transcript of the *Liber Custumarum*.

The work of compiling this present volume has been very considerable, and can only be appreciated by those who have undertaken similar work. An immense amount of material has had to be digested and assimilated before the simplest looking facts or extracts can be presented to the reader. But it is only due to Mr. Stuart Moore to say that this work would have been far more laborious, if that antiquary's task had not previously been undertaken. It would, however, be an advantage to have Mr. Moore's calendar re-edited or revised, for one or two valuable old books and papers have been recovered since 1864, the general arrangement has been somewhat changed, whilst several documents (fortunately of minor importance) have disappeared during the time that has elapsed since the compilation of the list.

Those who desire full information as to the contents of the Northampton muniment room, and obtain the necessary permission, are referred to Mr. Moore's calendar. It would take far too many pages of our limited space to attempt its reproduction here, even in an abbreviated form. It must suffice to state the contents, up to 1835, in quite general terms.

In addition to the charters proper, the town possesses a considerable number of private charters or grants, evidences, leases, etc., pertaining to the property of the corporation. These include two hundred and twenty one separate deeds, which vary in date from about 1150 to 1834. The majority of the earlier documents are the title deeds of the St. Leonard's property to which reference is afterwards made. Others relate to Gobion's manor, and different possessions of the corporation, both within and without the walls. The whole series abounds in information of value to the local topographer or antiquary, of which only transitory use has been made in these pages.

The two great folio books of the orders of assembly, which have afforded the larger part of the information given in this volume, must be described with some little detail, particularly as the first of these was not known to Mr. Moore, and the second one has only four lines of description in his calendar.

The earliest of these thick volumes (both of which are heavily

bound in leather covered boards, now much damaged) extends from 1547 to 1627. The orders of assembly occur but fitfully in the first three hundred pages; and they are interspersed among copies of current leases, and various town agreements and enrolments. The first assembly, whose minutes are noted, met on January 30th, 1551-2; and the next on December 23rd, 1553. The minutes of three assemblies are given for the year 1554, two for 1555, and one for 1558 From 1565 down to 1627, the assembly minutes occur with regularity, save for some three or four omissions, for which blank pages have been left. Amongst the other subjects dealt with in this book, in addition to minutes of assembly and transcripts of deeds, are:—mayor's and chamberlain's accounts for 1553, interrogatories and answers in several Elizabethan local suits; trade constitutions for the bakers, butchers, tanners, etc., of the town, chiefly between 1565 and 1585; copies of wills that included town bequests, enrolment of a few apprentices; minutes of the mayor and aldermen's court, 1568-9; and various inventories of goods seized, chiefly for the year 1562.

This book is, unfortunately, very defective; according to the paging, pages 1 and 2, and 7 and 8, as well as all between 166 and 233, and 240 and 249, are missing. In addition to this, there are several leaves cut away in different places, before any consecutive paging was adopted.

The second great volume carries on the orders of assembly uninterruptedly from 1628 to 1744. The same volume contains copies of deeds enrolled by request at the courts of record held by the mayor and coroners in the guildhall between 1628 and 1719. Other incidental matters here recorded are:—a committee's resolve, in 1649, to assimilate the proceedings of the Northampton assembly with those of the common council of the city of London; minutes of the court of mayor and aldermen for 1655, 1658, 1660, 1663, 1667, 1675, 1688-9, and 1690; oaths of allegiance in 1662; occasional full lists of the "house" or assembly; an inventory of town arms, 1662; a list of the town trained soldiers, 1669; and findings of the Vernall's inquests as to local boundaries between 1664 and 1724.

In both volumes, the writing is throughout in the hands of the respective town clerks. The town clerk, or common clerk, was invariably also the clerk of the court of record.

Other books bring down the orders of the assembly to 1835, without any admixture of other information.

The regular minutes of the court of the mayor and aldermen, which was a separate court from the larger assembly, do not begin till 1694. The first book of these minutes extends from that date to 1771, and the second from 1771 to 1797. There is some confusion in Mr. Moore's calendaring between the minutes of the two courts.

An interesting volume is a full Elizabethan terrier of all the lands and possessions of the corporation both in town and county; it is full of detail, and of the year 1586.

The register book of the orders of the commission appointed by act of parliament to regulate the rebuilding of Northampton after the great fire of 1675, is of unique legal value, and of primary local importance.

Folio books containing the mayors' accounts and the chamberlains' accounts begin in 1690, and with but few gaps continue consecutively till 1835.

The books containing the indentures of apprentices and the enrolment of freemen begin, respectively, in 1561 and 1606.

Among the detached papers are small bundles of separate mayors' accounts and chamberlains' accounts, as they were presented to the assembly, both of them beginning in 1676, the year after the great fire; toll papers from 1715 to 1829; acts of the corporation from 1746 to 1835; and parliamentary election returns, beginning in 1732.

There are also a large number of copies of charters, letters patent, etc., from the Public Record Office, relative to Northampton, the originals of which are not among the town records. They are 'office' copies, that is certified to be correct, and supplied by accredited record agents, and almost all of them are translated as well as given in the original. It is exceedingly unusual to find such transcripts in a borough muniment room; and it need not be supposed that the unreformed corporation was at any time seized with antiquarian or historic zeal, so as to possess themselves of these valuable accessories to their own records at some considerable outlay. The prosaic explanation is that these extracts from Domesday and the Pipe Rolls, and these copies of early royal grants of murage, pontage, and paviage to the town of Northampton were, one and all, procured about

SECTION TWO.

Civic Government and State.

The assembly—Its popular character—Great change of 1489—Its component parts—The twenty-four—The forty-eight—Lists of the house—Refusal of the forty-eight men to serve—Mr. Percival's opinion and appeal to King's Bench—New charter—Failures to make a quorum—Irregularities of finance—Report of committee and of commissioners—The mayors and mayors' accounts—Court of aldermen—Bailiffs—Chamberlains and chamberlains' accounts—Town clerk and town attorney—The mace bearer and great mace—The four serjeants-at-mace—Bellman and beadles—Hall keeper—Waits—Flag bearers—Dress of assembly.

THE ASSEMBLY.

THIS is not the place in which to attempt, even in the briefest form, any general essay upon the highly interesting subject of the rise and fall and subsequent revival of English municipal privileges, though some account is absolutely necessary for a due understanding of town records. It may be well just to point out that the best students of our national history seem to agree that a remarkable spirit of popular liberty ran throughout the whole government of most of our great English towns during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Particularly is this noticeable in towns on royal demesnes, of which Northampton was a conspicuous example. The comparative equality and fraternity of the town burgesses, under the widest democratic rule, began noticeably to wane, though more slowly in some places than in others, towards the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. From that time onwards, the passage from democracy to oligarchy set in with a steady flow, and was not staved off [illegible] the Corporation Reform Act of 1835.

In every one of our great towns, whose local records are extant, it is most remarkable and significant to note [illegible] change from a wide and generous trust in the community [illegible] selfish rule of a narrow and corrupt oligarchy was gradual [illegible] often unintentionally accomplished. Northampton affords [illegible] example of this gradual corruption of a noble [illegible]

One of the several fascinating points in connection with the study of English municipal life is that in the towns [illegible] the royal demesnes had exactly the same [illegible] ment. As the earlier and wider idea of genuine [illegible] became unworkable from a variety of reasons [illegible] to exhaust itself in finding a great [illegible] the idea of democratic government [illegible] substance was practically lost [illegible] dered at, when we consider the [illegible] independence that the burgesses had [illegible] or had obtained from the [illegible] which they strove to surround [illegible]

The student of comparative municipal self government will find that, in a variety of ways, the different changes and eventual development of civic control in Northampton may be compared with great towns such as London and Norwich; or with important boroughs such as Yarmouth, Colchester, Worcester, or Leicester; and in some respects with Coventry and Nottingham. In almost each of these towns it came about that, by the end of the fifteenth century, a common council of forty-eight members was elected to supersede the general assembly.

The primitive form of municipal institutions amongst us, after the Normans had firmly established themselves in the land, can be readily grasped. It forms an interesting admixture of English and Norman customs. The old portreeve or head man of the borough had become, in the later Anglo-Saxon times, little more than the servant of the king. The ancient liberties of the English were not unintelligible to the more educated townsmen from Normandy. In Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Provence, considerable struggles of the municipalities towards greater freedom were then in progress. The amalgamated populations of our Anglo-Norman towns were readily moved in a like direction. They desired, and obtained the power to elect, on the widest possible franchise, their own chief officer.

This freedom of annual election of a reeve of their choice was completely granted to Northampton by Richard's charter of 1189, and confirmed by that of John in 1200. The last of these charters associated with the reeve two bailiffs and four coroners, the whole seven being popularly elected year by year. Henry III. charter of 1227 is practically a repetition of that of 1200; but by the time that king granted letters patent to the town in 1252, an important change in nomenclature had been adopted by the burgesses, apparently without any express sanction. The annually chosen head man of the borough was then called mayor and not reeve. Here and there throughout England this change was coming about; the English reeve had so long been associated with kingly choice and exaction, that those possessed of far greater freedom, sought after a new title, and found it in the Norman mayor. It was only the towns of high importance, and exceptional liberties, that about this period took this step, or had it granted them. London and York chose a mayor in the end of Richard's days, Kings Lynn in 1204, Bristol in 1217,

Oxford in 1229, Chester in 1247, and Leicester in 1251. The title was soon sought after by the older and more influential boroughs; but it was not till the time of Elizabeth, or even James I., that the title of mayor was given to the chief officer of the majority of English boroughs. At Northampton, the change of nomenclature took place between 1227 and 1252; at the latter date it was certainly a well established fact.

The whole community, or commonalty, of the town was expected to take part in the election of reeve or mayor, and where those officers existed, of the bailiffs and coroners. The expression 'general assembly,' was of the widest possible signification. Fines were enforced upon burgesses who were absent from the general assembly, when duly summoned by bell, horn, or proclamation. Powers existed, and were even some times enforced, of closing shops and work rooms during the time of the assembly, in order that it might be manifest that the claims of public business were superior to private interests. The original idea of our Anglo-Norman town assemblies was on a more comprehensive scale than even that of the village manor courts, where all tenants were expected to muster, under a penalty. Every male of working age, was expected to be present at the town assembly. At Sandwich, for instance, on the first Monday in December, the town serjeant sounded the common horn for a general assembly, and made the following cry at the fourteen accustomed places:—"Every man of twelve years or more, go to St. Clement's church, "there our commonalty hath need. Haste, haste."

The reeve or mayor naturally required advice and counsel in the multifarious questions submitted to his discussion, even where, as at Northampton, he was relieved of some of his duties by popularly appointed bailiffs and coroners. Ere long, he found on his appointment, a gradually increasing small body of men, who had served the like office, and who were termed his "brethren" or "co-brethren," or more usually by the Anglo-Saxon term of aldermen. In certain cases the number of these brethren was limited to twelve, in other cases the number was undefined; whilst in some boroughs, only those who were chosen by the commonalty could act as the mayor's advisers.

So far as Northampton is concerned, there can be no doubt that, from about 1300, when the town was enlarged and St. Giles included in the new walls, the *colloquium generale* or

congregatio of the townsmen (in English the general assembly of the commonalty) was summoned from time to time, for nearly two centuries, to hold its meetings in the body of that large church. This was not done because, as has been alleged, there was no town hall, or guild hall, for the guildhall that stood at the south east corner of the market square, was there soon after 1300, but because the great size of St. Giles' would admit of the presence of a considerable body of the townsmen, who could not possibly have assembled in the chamber or hall, where the mayor and his brethren and the more select burgesses were wont to take counsel.

Previous to 1300 the old town hall, a small building, stood between the castle and the then market square, which partly corresponded to the present Marehold. In the Anglo-Norman town, the assembly was possibly held in the open, in the market place or chequer. Here it may be remarked that the spelling "Mayorhold" is comparatively modern and wrong. In Elizabethan days it is several times spelt "Marehold" when, in close juxtaposition, occurs the word "maior" for the chief magistrate. In the days when entire horses were the rule, and geldings quite the exception, the separation of the horses and mares was a necessity at most of the fairs. Hence in Northampton, the horses were in the open Horsemarket, and the mares safely secured in the Marehold. Maretair, as the continuation of Gold Street, is a street name of later origin; it used generally to be called West Street.

The general assembly, intended originally to be frequently summoned, gradually gave way to a more select court. At Northampton, up to 1480, the assembly was always called together for choice of a mayor, as well as for the enacting of special business.

In the time of Edward III., Northampton's assembly is described as consisting of the mayor, the coroners, twelve burgesses, and the commonalty. During the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry VI., and Edward IV., a privy council of twenty-four was the distinguishing feature, the assembly being styled the mayor, the twenty-four burgesses, and the whole community, or the mayor, the twenty-four co-burgesses, and all the commonalty. Right through these reigns the presence of the community was necessary at Northampton for the passing of any new bye-laws, or sanctioning any trade constitutions.

The narrowing down of the privileges of the community almost to vanishing point, was accomplished in very many boroughs in the last half of the fifteenth century, by substituting supposed representatives for all the commonalty. In most of these boroughs the change was accomplished by the overweening power of the great burgesses, and particularly by the great trade guilds, which, as we shall presently see, never overawed the council at Northampton.

At Northampton, in conjunction with the neighbouring town of Leicester, this memorable change, whereby the voice of the town at large was practically silenced for three and a half centuries, came about through the direct action of the nation's parliament. There was, apparently, at Northampton, sufficient sturdy independence to jeopardise the possibility of effecting so startling a change through the town's parliament.

The interesting act of Parliament of 1489 has been printed in full in the first volume. The preamble attempts to justify this revolutionary measure by reciting the great divisions, discords and excitement of the popular assemblies, and the act proceeds to substitute for the commonalty, forty-eight of the most discreet and best disposed townsmen. The selection of the forty-eight was, however, left entirely at the disposal of the mayor and past mayors, and they were to hold office for life. The choice of the new mayor and most of the general government of the town was to be left in the hands of these forty-eight, in association with the mayor and ex-mayors, and the bailiffs and ex-bailiffs. The only restriction in the choice of the forty-eight was that they were not to be chosen from past mayors or bailiffs. Thus disappeared, save in name, the town's general assembly.

In 1505, Northampton's assembly is described as consisting of the mayor, late mayors, bailiffs, and twenty-four co-burgesses, and the forty-eight. The old privy council of the twenty-four gradually disappeared in favour of the forty eight common council men. Probably, in this instance, the phrase "twenty-four" implied the late bailiffs and all those that had been bailiffs. It is rather curious to note that, when we come to the time of preservation of full lists of "the house" or assembly, it is found that the ex-mayors or aldermen averaged about twelve, and the bailiffs and ex-bailiffs about twenty four.

From the time of Philip and Mary, we know that it was

customary to call over the roll of the assembly on the first meeting after Michaelmas, and to take down the names in writing. Apparently, the calling of the roll was not infrequently resorted to on other occasions, particularly when there was any doubt as to a quorum being present, a clear majority of the whole house being necessary for any local legislation. It is not, however, till 1674 that "a list of the house" is met with in the book of orders. A full list of the assembly on October 2nd, of that year is extant, from which we find that the house then consisted of thirteen aldermen (including the mayor), twenty six bailiffs, and fifty-four forty-eight men or burgesses. By the side, however, of six of the burgesses' names, marginal disqualifications are written, thus reducing them to the right number. Against three the one word "outed" is written, against another "outed for basterdy," against a fifth "gone," and against a sixth "by reason of his sickness excused."

The next list of the house is one drawn up on March 25th, 1720, when there were thirteen aldermen, in addition to the mayor, thirty one bailiffs, and forty seven burgesses.

Lists are also given in full for the years 1722, 1724, 1729, 1732, and 1740. The list for 1742 marks those who were absent on October 2nd; there were sixteen aldermen, of whom two were absent; twenty seven bailiffs, of whom six were absent; and forty eight burgesses, of whom nine were absent. The house, then, on that occasion consisted of seventy five members.

A printed list of the full house or corporation first occurs under date April 30th, 1772. The house was then composed of mayor, nineteen aldermen, and twenty-six bailiffs, and the forty-eight burgesses; a total of forty nine were present. In the list of 1776, there were twenty-three aldermen and twenty-four bailiffs, but only twenty-eight of the forty-eight burgesses. In several other lists of subsequent years the roll of the forty-eight was by no means complete.

In connection with this mention of printed lists, it may here be noted that printed summonses to the assembly were used in 1813, whilst the first printed agenda for public business that we have met with is dated October 25th, 1811.

We now come to definite standing ground. The official records of the town, the orders of assembly, begin in the last year of Edward VI. In 1552, the Northampton assembly con-

sisted of the mayor, his brethren, twenty-four comburgesses, and the forty-eight. This comprehensive title of the assembly continued with but slight change of phraseology, up till October 24th, 1595, when the last entry of the twenty-four comburgesses occurs, to be immediately succeeded on November 14th, of the same year, by the phrase, "the bailiffs and those that have been bailiffs."

Northampton had its annually appointed two bailiffs, as well as mayor; and the mayors were, according to usage, almost invariably chosen from the ex-bailiffs. It seems reasonable to suppose that the twenty-four comburgesses were either a selected number of the ex-bailiffs, made up from other sources when the past bailiffs did not reach that number, or else that the phrase lingered when the actual number was forgotten. The latter supposition is perhaps the most probable. From 1595 to 1836, the past bailiffs remained a distinct body, wearing special gowns, and occasionally sitting with the mayor and aldermen when the forty-eight burgesses were not summoned, or were meeting apart.

The full title given to the assembly in 1628 is, the "assembly of mayor, aldermen his brethren, the bailiffs and all those that have been bailiffs, and the forty-eight burgesses of the Common Council."

In the somewhat troublous and unsettled times towards the close of the reign of Queen Mary, the assembly passed a verbose and curious order, dated November 12th 1557, imposing fines upon any who should use slanderous words with regard to the mayor, or his brethren, or any of the twenty-four comburgesses. It is an elaboration of the order of 1490 (*Liber Custumarum*), and runs as follows:—

Synce that moche unfithing langage seditious wordes misrule and ungodlie governaunce hathe of longe time Reigned in the boroughe & towne of Northampton amonge the inhabitants there & dwellers of the same, For a perpetuall peace Reformation & better order to be had theryn, We have consideryd First and principally that yt pleasethe god, yt establishithe perfect Reformation & tranquylite, yt norryshithe & encreasithe love and charite among us, The universall wele alwey enhaansynge and floryshynge, yt causythe plentye & abundaunce, and lawes to have ther due courses, Justice to be indifferently mynistrede & executed, wheras by the contrarye way and use thereof ensuethe commotions striffes & debates, povertie myserye & many other inconveniences, The peryll and daunger whereof must of Reason be erected & leyde to the charge off those persones having Rule & authorite where any misgovernaunce be used & frequented, Therfor be yt establyshed & provydede alwey that from thys time forwarde no manner of person or persones what estate, degree, or conditions oever he be, beinge here franchised & sworne to

ye liberties, freedoms & usages of this towne before the mayor for the time beinge, that hathe or shall speak or spred abrode in any manner of wise any seditiouse vile or maliciouse langage or tales of or by the maior or by any of them that hathe ben maiors or by any others of the xxiiij comburgesseys of this towne, in slanderynge hurtinge or aspersing ther good name & fame in any manner of untrouthe, and that is proved by sufficient witnes before the maior and his counsell for the time beinge, That then that person or persones that so notiythe slaunderithe or defameth any of them above rehersed, & therein be founde delective & guilte as ys aforeseide, shall pay to the maior for the time beinge to the use of the towne so to be kept as common tresure of the Towne xs* yf that he be of ayse & power to pay the seide xs* And if the saule person or persons be not able ner off powers to pay xs* that then he or they remayne in prison xxtiij† dayes by the discretion of ye maior & his counsell.

At the same assembly a strict order was passed as to the secrecy to be observed by members of the inner council, as well as another bye-law regulating the weekly meeting of the mayor's court. In the latter case the term "Commoner" evidently means one of the forty-eight.

Item yt is ordeynyd that if any of the xxiiij^ti Comburgesseys or any other being swrome as well to the Councell of the maior as to the secret Counsell off the towne of Northampton do declare & showe any manner of thing or cause commuryd or talkyd, & so commaunded by the mayor to be kept secret together in secret counsell any time, & being provyd before the Maior & hys Counsell, the said person shall pay the first tyme to the Ma for & to the use beforeseyd xx^s, the second time xl^s & to be expulsed & put out of the saide Counsell at the discretion of the maior & his brethern.

Item that the maior every Monday shall have assistaunce at the Court off iij of his brethern that have been maiors & vj baylys and then to have no other in their stedes, after any soche summons so given, every one that have ben maior & makithe defaut shall pay to the pore boxe vj^d, & every one that hathe ben bayly for like default shall pay to the same boxe iij^d, totiens quotiens.

Also that every Commoner that is summoned to serve the Court every Monday upon his or their lawfull summons by the officers of his quarters & do make defau't shall pay viij^d halfe to the bailys halfe to the pore man's boxe.

The following useful standing order for preserving due decorum at their debate was agreed to by that assembly on April 11th, 1642 —

That whoesoever of this Assemblie shall come out of their places or from off their seats more than one by one to speak uppon ane occasion shall forfeit xij^d to the use of the Corporation, and that whoesoever of the said Assemblie shall at any time make ane noise wailes one is in speakeinge shall forfeit also xij^d to the use aforesaid to be levyed by distresse or Imprisonment of the Offender till he payeth at the maiors discretion.

* Original reads, but the [illegible] out in other [illegible] place.

† The number of days is also erased in later ink, leaving the period of imprisonment indefinite.

[illegible] the last pages of the second volume of the great order book [illegible] under date February 13th, 1649, whereby the [illegible] committee resolve that the common council of the town of Nottingham shall be summoned and regulated according to the Act [illegible] Counsel made that year by parliament for London, and that the burgesses on both sides do endeavour to adjust their differences by March 19th, and then attend this committee and act accordingly. This resolution is followed by a transcript of the Act of Parliament relative to the London common council, the chief provisions of which are that the lord mayor was to summon the council at the written requisition of any ten members; that the members then assembling of forty or more shall form a common council; that the lord mayor or in his absence his deputy, or the oldest alderman, or in their absence any member duly chosen shall be president or chairman, and shall cause all things offered to or proposed in the council to be fairly or orderly debated put to the question, tried, and determined as the major part of the members shall [illegible]; that in every vote and proceeding neither the lord mayor nor the aldermen jointly or separately shall have any distinct vote or voice rather than as part of the assembly; that the absence or withdrawing of the lord mayor or aldermen from the council shall [illegible] the proceedings [illegible] common council [illegible] the major part of the council shall [illegible] and [illegible] that all orders made by the order and direction of the major part [illegible] officers of the city shall be [illegible] and [illegible] as the [illegible] and that every [illegible] shall have a right to persist and [illegible] the [illegible] regulation and [illegible] of the [illegible] of the city.

[illegible] as a [illegible] court. This became a frequent [illegible] century. The court of aldermen in the [illegible] James Cunningham, apothecary, [illegible] the previous year [illegible] to take the oath [illegible] be fined [illegible].

In the mayoralty of [illegible] court of aldermen that as James [illegible] absent from his shop upon the business [illegible]

the fine of £10 rather than serve on the forty-eight, he should be excused in the future from serving in that office.

Mr. John Ives, apothecary, was elected one of the forty-eight in 1704, but on being summoned to be sworn, he pleaded that his serving would be a great prejudice and detriment to him in his trade or profession, having occasion to be much absent from his shop upon his business. He expressed himself as willing to submit to a fine rather than serve. The case was brought before the mayor and aldermen, and they decided that upon paying £10 for the use of the corporation, Mr. Ives should be excused from serving as a burgess for the future; but that if he should be again elected and willing to serve, that then the £10 should be refunded by the chamberlains

A like order was made by the same court in 1706 in regard to one Zechariah Herbert, who was also an apothecary.

In 1716 the aldermen turned out two members of the forty eight "for their Indecent and unmanly behaviour at Assemblys."

Edward Lee was removed in 1719 for keeping "a disordered alehouse."

In 1741 two members of the forty-eight were removed from office because they were prisoners for debt.

This right of expulsion, the aldermen again exercised on July 15th, 1743, after a wholesale fashion, when they removed and displaced from their several offices five aldermen, six bailiffs, and four of the forty-eight, for neglecting from time to time to appear at hall and assembly, though duly summoned. However, by another vote of the same court, held August 8th, six of these defaulters were restored to their former places in the corporation.

The non-attendance of the forty-eight and their refusal to qualify when elected began now to be a chronic complaint in the town. The aldermen upbraided the burgesses with lack of energy for the public weal, whereupon the burgesses, with not a little truth, retorted that the aldermen had so manipulated the choice of the forty-eight that the supposed representatives of the commonalty had practically no power, and that they declined to be mere pawns. The evil grew to such a pitch, in the course of the next fifty years, that the aldermen could hardly ever succeed in keeping up the forty-eight, even nominally, at anything like its full strength.

At last, in 1791, the mayor and aldermen resolved to take counsel's opinion on the subject, and a case was submitted to their deputy recorder, Mr. Spencer Perceval, by the town clerk.

The clauses of the town charter of 15th Charles II., relative to the company of forty-eight, were recited, which provide that they shall be "honest and discreet men dwelling and abiding within the town which have never been mayors or bailiffs"; that in conjunction with the mayor and ex-mayor, the two bailiffs, and the ex-bailiffs, they shall be called the common council, that all bye-laws and rules are to be passed by a majority of the whole common council, that the mayor and aldermen are to fill up all vacancies that may occur in the company of the forty eight by a majority of their votes; that any freeman or burgess duly elected and refusing to serve could be fined by the mayor and alderman; and that if the defaulter did not pay the fine he could be cast into prison, or a distress levied on his goods.

It was further stated, as a part of the case, that at that time the corporation consisted of a mayor, eighteen aldermen, two bailiffs, twenty two other bailiffs who had served that office, and nineteen qualified, and twenty nine duly elected but not qualified forty-eight men; and that the twenty nine, though resident freemen, absolutely refused to appear, or to take office.

The two queries submitted to Mr. Perceval were—Is it advisable for the corporation to proceed by the above (charter) or any other means to set a fine upon the forty-eight men for refusing to serve? And if advisable, should they be fined annually or more than once for such refusal?

Mr Perceval replied that the mayor and aldermen had power to fine the defaulters to a reasonable amount; that if the payment was refused, it might be recovered by action for debt, as the charter methods were probably illegal, and clashed with statute law; that he strongly recommended that they should in the first instance appeal to King's Bench for a *mandamus* to compel the persons elected to accept office, for such a procedure could be begun at once; and, even if refused, the judges would then state what legal course the corporation ought to take. Mr. Perceval further advised that a fresh summons to attend and qualify should be served on the defaulters, with an intimation that if they still refused, application would be made to the King's Bench, but at the same time he strenuously urged the corporation to consider, whether, for the sake of the peace and harmony of

the whole town, they could not try and secure other persons who would willingly accept office, and have new elections.

Mr Jeyes, the town clerk, endorsed the "case" with the words, "Mr. P. refused to take his Fee of 3 Guineas which I offered him."

It is to the credit of the aldermen that they took Mr. Perceval's advice, and sought out others to accept the office. Several of these, however, remained obstinate, and eventually three defaulters had a *mandamus* served on them. The case was argued at length, and the curious result that ensued, making a new charter a necessity, had better be narrated in the contemporary words of Mr. Hall's MS.:—

1704

This year some memorable transactions occurred, which to give some account of it will be necessary to recur to what had taken place some time prior to this. The corporation had for some years contented themselves with summoning several persons annually to take the office of common council men, who constantly refused it, and it was done so long and to that degree, that the forty eight common council were reduced to about nineteen It has been alleged this was done that the upper house, i.e., the mayor, aldermen, and bailiffs should have a majority; be that as it may they even so reduced. But about the year 1791 they altered that plan, and summoned a considerable number of others, most of whom complied and took the oaths. Those that refused, namely, Samuel Hughes, John Kightley, and Robert Becton had a mandamus served on them, and the case was argued several times in the court of, King's Bench. The result was, as it appeared, that though as freemen they were bound to serve as common council men yet they contended they were not duly elected, upon the ground of an act of parliament passed in the reign of Henry VII, which enacted that there should be a majority of the forty eight so called, at all elections of mayors and bailiffs, and it was stated that at the election of Mr Millar to be mayor there was not a majority of the forty eight present, and there was a majority of the forty-eight belonging to the corporation, this was allowed by the court to be such a defect that they were declared to be in a state of dissolution, and that they could not legally elect any officers, the consequence was, a new charter was deemed necessary This This stirred a controversy whether the corporation only should settle the terms and articles of the new charter, or whether the town generally should be consulted The corporation resisted this but many of the inhabitants assembled together in the county hall (the town hall having been refused), warmly contended they had a right to give their opinion in the formation of the new charter, and the dispute was carried to such a length, that handbills appeared on both sides Those who called themselves the town agreed to petition the king for this purpose, and about five hundred names were signed and presented by the Hon Ed Bouverie one of our representatives but this had little or no effect, for at length a new charter was granted wherein all the members of the old corporation were named and in general was a transcript of the old one, with some trifling regulations It was

brought to the town with great triumph, by the mayor, Lord Compton, and Mr. Perceval, the deputy recorder.

The new charter, with some account of the rejoicings on its arrival, has been set forth in full in the first volume.

It was intended to hold an assembly in the guildhall, on October 23rd, 1797, but for want of a majority of the house no legal business could be transacted. Wherefore the mayor and three justices of the peace fined each of the absent members 6s. 8d. The absentees included three aldermen, eight bailiffs, and twenty two of the forty-eight.

It was decided in August, 1798, that for the future, "when any question be agitated in this House the same shall be determined by Ballot to be then immediately determined, provided always that such Ballot be demanded by at least three members then present." This ballot resolution was immediately put into effect on a poll for the mayor elect.

An assembly summoned for July 31st, 1800, failed to obtain the legal quorum of a majority, whereupon the defaulters (to number of twenty three) were all summoned to appear in the guildhall at three o'clock the following Monday, to show cause why they should not be fined. Twelve of the defaulters were fined 6s. 8d., for having respectively failed to assign a sufficient cause or excuse for their non-attendance.

There was a like failure to form a quorum in October, 1802, when there were thirty four absentees, twenty five of whom were eventually fined 6s. 8d.

The usual summons failed to bring together a full assembly on November 5th, 1807, no fewer than thirty five being absent. Of this number fourteen were fined 6s. 8d. during the following week. The adjourned assembly met with but little better success, for on November 12th, there were twenty five absentees. However, there must have been some very special occurence on that day, for the excuses of the whole twenty five were considered valid by the mayor and justices when they appeared before them on November 23rd

It was agreed by the assembly of November 23rd, 1807, that the business of the coming meeting, and all notices of motion, should be sent out to every member of the corporation together with his summons.

The 22nd of October, 1810, was another instance of a failure

to make a house; 37 members were absent, so that no legal business could be undertaken. A further assembly was summoned for the following Friday, and all the defaulters were called upon by the mayor and justices to explain their absence. The result was, that a fine of 6s 8d. was imposed on twenty two of the members.

There were thirty five absent from an intended assembly, in April, 1811, but only two of the number were eventually fined, and that in the reduced penalty of 5s

On October 22nd of the same year, thirty one were absent from a duly summoned house, so that no assembly could be formed. The justices were now roused to more stringent measures, on October 26th, seven of the defaulters were fined 13s. 4d., and sixteen of the others 6s. 8d. each.

The laxity of attendance was not, however, yet checked It was intended to hold an assembly on January 12th, 1812, but actually forty five members of the house were absent. The justices met on January 19th, when they fined four of the defaulters 20s., one of them 13s. 4d., and two 6s. 8d. An assembly was summoned for the same day, when there were again thirty defaulters. On this occasion, the aldermen distinguished themselves by their absence, ten of their number stopping away, including two justices. On January 28th, only seven of the offenders were fined, the fine in each case being 6s. 8d.

There was another failure to make a house on March 11th, 1816, when thirty members were absent. A week later, the mayor and justices fined three of the defaulters 13s. 4d., and eighteen 6s. 8d.

A fiasco of a like character had to be recorded on January 7th, 1819. An assembly had been summoned, but it could not be held, as forty members of the house were absent The mayor and justices imposed fines of 13s. 4d. on four of the defaulters, whilst twenty nine had to pay 6s. 8d.

An assembly was intended to be held on October 31st, 1822, and the usual summons issued, but for want of a majority no business could be transacted. The mayor and justices ordered the thirty five absent members to appear before them on November 8th, to show cause why they should not be fined, when twenty eight of the number were fined 6s. 8d. each.

On September 5th, 1834, an assembly was duly summoned,

but there being no majority present it could not be held. The mayor and justices issued summonses against eight aldermen, twelve bailiffs, and twenty six burgesses, for absence, with the result that four of the delinquents were fined 13s 4d each, and twenty six 6s 8d. Another assembly was called for September 9th, and again there was no quorum. This time there were twenty six absentees one of whom was fined 13s 4d., and twenty 6s. 8d Eventually an assembly was got together on September 18th The old corporation apparently desired to keep up their reputation for slovenly attendance to the end of their days, there being further fines for non-attendance in 1835, the last year of their existence.

With regard to finance, the spirit of reform that was in the air affected even some members of the old corporation In January, 1831, a handbill issued by Alderman Hewlett to members of the corporation, and to the press, relative to the town accounts, was discussed by the assembly The chief points of this paper were, that most of the sources of revenue, arising from charitable bequests, butcher's stalls, tolls, etc., were in the hands of several private persons engaged in trade, instead of being placed at some respectable banking establishment; that no balance sheet had ever been published or distributed among the members of the corporation: and that the great body of the corporation were in a state of total ignorance as to the manner in which the large property under their management was regulated. Alderman Hewlett proceeded to recommend that the whole finances of the corporation be placed in the hands of a small committee holding no other office, who should keep a proper banking account, and hold monthly meetings: that all accounts should be subject to the perusal of all members; and that the auditors should issue annual balance sheets. The assembly refused to discuss these proposals, and passed resolutions condemnatory of the unusual, improper, and prejudicial proceedings of Alderman Hewlett.

In 1833, however, an elaborate report, extending over many pages was made to the assembly by a special committee appointed to audit the whole of the corporation accounts. Their recommendations included that of having a proper banking account, the plan of leaving moneys in the hands of individual members of the corporation being, "to say the least, inconvenient and objectionable."

The private fund department offered the greatest opportunity

for abuse; it dealt with large figures, balancing to £1555. 5s. 5d. for 1832. To this fund were paid almost the whole of the rents. Out of it came the numerous "treats" and "feastings," in addition to those of the mayor. Even the corporation committee suggested that "the several Grants made by the Corporation for the customary entertainments be immediately considered and revised in order that a reduction may be made in these same. Your Committee therefore recommend that in future the number of persons invited to such entertainments are strictly confined to those immediately concerned in the business of the day, and that in no instance the sum drawn for such a purpose exceed fifteen shillings each person."

Considering that the committee consisted exclusively of members of the corporation of long standing (some of whom had themselves acted as treasurers of the various complicated funds and charities), the concluding paragraph of their long report is exceedingly severe.

"Your Committee in closing the remarks called for in the progress of this protracted examination of the accounts feel a desire not to say one word that may give offence to any one but they are bound by a sense of Duty and with deep reluctance to say many charges have found a place in the accounts of the Corporation that if duly considered would never have appeared and if properly examined would have been considerably reduced."

With regard to feasting and like expenditure, more will be found in the subsequent accounts of the office of mayor, of the court of aldermen of the town hall of Sir Thomas White's charity, and of the cattle-branding day, etc. It may here be mentioned, so far as it affects the assembly, that on May 25th, 1815, it was ordered by the assembly "that the whole House be invited to dine on the anniversary of the 29th May and that the ordinary be paid by the Chamberlain."

The old assembly called into being in 1480 died with the passage of the Municipal Reform Act, on September 9th, 1835. The following are the concluding paragraphs of the long report made in the previous year by the commissioners on municipal corporations as to the property then held in Northampton. Severe as some of the passages seem, the report on Northampton is not so severe on its shortcomings as those passed on several other corporations in this part of England, notably on Leicester.

The Mayors, and Mayors' Accounts.

The popularly-elected mayor, as successor to his predecessor the reeve, came into being in Northampton, as has been already stated, between the years 1227 and 1252. The chief magistrate of Leicester first obtained that title in 1251; but there seems good reason to think that the change of nomenclature at Northampton, came about at least as early as 1240.

A few interesting facts in connection with the earlier mayors are established by the *Liber Custumarum* of the first volume, such as the order of 1381 that the out-going mayor should be one of the parliamentary burgesses; the order of 1437 that no one should be mayor a second time till seven years had elapsed, passed by the assembly when John Sprigy finished his fourth mayoralty; and the order of 1448 for freeing a past mayor from brewing dues and from watch and ward service.* His position as escheator of the town, as clerk of the market, and as presiding judge of the weekly hustings or court of record is also there established. In short, there seems to be no privilege attached to the position of chief townsman in other boroughs which did not belong to Northampton's mayor, and there were but few towns wherein the mayor had so many dignities, or where the whole community were expected to so implicitly respond to his personal summons.

By letters patent of May 2nd, 1478, it was granted that all future mayors of Northampton should be permitted to take their oath of office before the ex-mayor, the recorder, and the four coroners, or any two of them, instead of being put to the expense of proceeding to London to take the oath before the barons of the exchequer. Simon Bradfield, mayor 1478-9, was the first to avail himself of this privilege.

The following particulars with regard to the mayors of Northampton have been gathered (with a few exceptions culled from private manuscript sources) from the orders of the assembly, the minutes of the aldermen's court, and from the mayor's accounts.

Lawrence Manley was elected mayor for the fourth time in the year 1558, and at an assembly, held soon after the choice, it was resolved:—

> That noman shalbe maior twice in the space of vij yeres and that no man that have ben thrisse maiour shalbe chesen maiour anymore during his lyff naturall.

In 1565, it was ordered that if any matter of contention happen

* See vol. I., pp. 148, 275, 289.

to be moved or stirred betwixt any that have borne the office of mayor, and the matter lawfully laid before the mayor for the time being and his brethren, their decision must be adhered to under pain of expulsion from court and council, together with the penalty of five pounds for the use of the chamber. The assembly in 1570 agreed :—

That no free man of this towne at any time hereafter shalbe electede and chozen maior of Northampton but twisse in his lyff time and no more any former acte or order to the contrarie made notwithstandinge.

At the assembly held on Sept. 15th, 1570, the following order was made with reference to that fertile source of dispute and constant change, the mayor's allowance :—

Forasmuche as the maior of this worshipfull Boroughe is, by reason of his office of maioralitie divers and sondrywaies charged to the greate hynderaunce and partly an undoinge to some which be not very well habie to go throughe with the same. In consideration whereof there hathe ben in tymes past dyvers and sundrie showanures graunted unto the maior somewhat to exonerate him of the great charge, which allowaunce of late yeres have ben taken awaye and the maior appointed to a small stypent of xx markes towards his charge, which in respect of the same ys as muche as nothinge, wherfor in consideration off the premises and for the better maintenance of this boroughe in thoffice of maioralie, It is thought meet and convenient that the maior for the time being for the better maintenance of his estate shall have his said stipent of xx^ti marks made up xx^li to be payde him, owte of the chamber of the towne, And also the making Free of one man, which he shall not stonde accountath for.

An order of the assembly made on June 28th, 1588, recites that whereas the mayor has for several years received twenty pounds "towardes his dynner at Christyde and feasting then, and suche other like his greate chardges," and whereas also the chamberlain at the town charge had made a feast called St. Leonard's feast, seeing that the chamber is very poor and impoverished it is now ordered that for the space of six years there be no feasting either at Christmas or on St. Leonard's day, and the twenty pounds be remitted for that period, and the mayor be only expected to give a dinner at Michaelmas and on the day of his election.

In 1592, one John Kirkland, alderman, and his wife plead that they are both of them, much broken with age, and so feeble and impotent, that they are scarcely able to walk, much less to ride, and that therefore he prays to be excused from serving the office of mayor. On payment of five pounds, to be expended in paving

the queen's highway, between the west gate and the west bridge, the assembly agreed to acquit him for ever from holding the mayoralty. On all state and important occasions, the mayor and aldermen were always expected to ride on horseback in all the bravery of their scarlet gowns

At the October assembly of 1594, it was agreed that George Redferne, cook, in consideration of the dutiful service heretofore done and hereafter to be done to the mayor for the time being according to his humble petition, should have a "freese coate" bestowed on him, and a similar gift henceforth yearly at the feast of St. Michael. The time of feasting at the chief magistrate's expense being at Michaelmas, when he assumed office, that season was evidently considered the fitting time for some token of the corporation's appreciation of the mayor's cook!

On July 17th, 1621, the assembly again made an ordinance for the withholding of the special grant of £20 usually paid to the mayor, for a term of ten years. The next assembly, however, held on August 7th, when the new mayor was elected, made the above order "frustrat and voyde"

In 1623, it was agreed that the laudable custom of the aldermen, bailiffs, and forty-eight attending upon the mayor in their best apparel "for the proclayming of the Crie and proclamation heretofore accustomed upon the knowling of the bell three times and to continue till all bee done" shall be continued under pain of 3s. 4d from a defaulting alderman, 2s. 6d. from a bailiff, and 2s. from a burgess.

It was also ordered that if any mayor shall hereafter omit to make the proclamation he shall forfeit £5.

Amongst a variety of long moral orders passed by the assembly in November, 1624, occurs the following, in restraint of undue feasting :—

Whereas heretofore yt has ben accustomed that the mayor of this towne for the tyme beinge and the Bailiffes alsoe are usualie to feaste divers inhabitants of this towne and their wyves and divers other their allies and friends imediatelie after the Feaste of the Nativitie of Christ yearlie to witt the maiors for certaine dayes in a weeke then after and the Bailiffes for certaine days in other weeks then after consequentlie one Bailiffe after another, Now for that yt appeareth that the usuall feastinge in this kinde is verie superfluous and the Creatures ordayned for necessarie use are unnecessarilie consumed to greate and extraordinarie charge, and to much damage and hurt of the same Maior and Bayliffes, It is nowe therefore ordered and agreed by this Assemblie that neither the maior that nowe is nor the Bayliffes that

known are not any that hereafter shalbe maior or Bayliffes of this Corporation shall hereafter keepe any feastinge in any weekes after the saide feaste of the Nativitie yearlie as they usualle have accustomed to doe nor at any other tyme . . . upon paine of everie maior or bayliffes offendinge in the breach of this present ordinance forfeite and paye Twentie pownde.

It was, however, provided that the mayor might be allowed, according to old custom, to entertain the forty-eight at his own house to dinner, the said burgesses having previously attended the mayor to church, and from church to the guildhall for the taking of his oath. It was also provided that the bailiffs were to have liberty to entertain their friends and acquaintances at any other time except the weeks after Christmas, but the bailiffs' feast was not to consist of anything more than "one messe of meete at one tyme."

One of the numerous signs of the times, in 1640, that foretold the coming great civil struggle was the curtailing of the fee hitherto paid to royal messengers. Up to December 18th of that year it had been customary for the mayor of Northampton to pay a king's messenger bringing writs and bundles of proclamations 3s 4d for every several writ. But at that date, the assembly decided that this fee, which was growing to be a heavy charge, was merely a gratuitous allowance, and did not represent any legal charge on the corporation They therefore ordered that henceforth no more than 12d. was to be paid to the messenger for each writ with proclamations, and that if any mayor saw fit to pay any more that it should not be allowed him in his mayoralty account.

A private copy of a contemporary manuscript gives an interesting account of the long struggle that took place at the assembly on the "choice day" for mayor in the year 1657 :—

A great contest arose this year about the choice of the Mayor. Mr. Sargeant nominated Mr Cobbs for his joint. Mr. Gifford being the eldest Alderman nominated Mr Roger Williams against him so it went to vote between the Mayor and Alderman and Mr. Williams carried it, then after the Bailiffs were called the Mayor made known what was done amongst them, so then Mr. John Smart being one of the eldest of the bar. To he answered and said let us go up and think of a third man, which when they had so done they nominated Mr. Jonathan Whiston and divided themselves after great debate amongst them so that there was 17 to 10. Then when they had done the 48 Burgesses were called, which when they were come Mr Mayor made known what He and the Aldermen had done and what the Bailiffs had done, and did propound to them the three men that were in question, and said it lay afore them either to chuse a 4th man or let it go as the Bailiffs had made choice of. Upon that they withdrew and went up to consider amongst themselves, and at last divided, and when they voted it bar about 5 or 6 did with one consent vote for the third man which was Mr.

Jonathan Whiston and so continued, Whereupon the Mayor and Aldermen seeing of them so resolute and unmoveable from their choice, the Mayor did adjourn the Assembly till the next day being Friday the 7th of August at one o'clock in ye afternoon at their perils to meet, which come they all met and Mr. Mayor He made a speech to them showing that Mr. Whiston was not capable of the place by reason he would not be conformable and take an Oath to give his best Advice according to the best knowledge and cunning he could as Mayor for the year. Yet for all that and many arguments used too the house could not beat them off, but they did continue still as resolute, so that at length Mr. Mayor and Aldermen did yeild and send for Mr. Whiston by two Aldermen and three Bailiffs to see whether he would take oath or not so that all distractions might be ended. And when Mr. Whiston came Mr. Mayor made a short speech to him and hinting to him the love of the house towards him and also persuading him to take the oath whereupon it was read to him, and He turning towards the house asked them if it was their desire for him to do so? They answered all generally that it was their desire, so then he took his oath, and they three, Mr. Collins Mr. Williams and Mr. Whiston went to scrutinize, and Mr. Whiston carried. There was not Mayor Aldermen Bailiffs and 48 Burgesses above 20 Voices against him so he had a fair Election, and being so done he went up into his place and gave the house many thanks for their love. In the next place he was to elect his Bailiffs, which though it was a custom for him to nominate to the Mayor and the Aldermen in the Council house, and for them to get two other against them, He thought not so but came out to the house to acquaint them asking them which? They satisfied him it was the custom and persuaded him to do it, so then he went into the Council House and made choice of Robert Coles and John Howes, and the Mayor and Aldermen chose Joseph Warner and John Woolston, but Mr. Mayor elect's choice stood, in regard they never go about to crosses, and this was the end of our election.

After the very prominent part that Northampton took in the great rebellion, it is not surprising to find that the town was some time in settling down to orderly self government. This displacement of duly elected officials, noticed subsequently under "National Events," did not tend in the direction of peace.

On August 19th, 1663, at the close of the mayoralty of John Brafield (who had twice before been fined for refusing the office when duly elected), it was agreed to hold the mayor and justices and other officials harmless, and not to bear the cost of any actions, suits, molestations, damages or demands that may happen to them for any official act or thing done by them. The preamble to this somewhat wholesale rider, signed by the mayor, states that it is passed in consequence of the implacable spirit of several persons turned out of their places at the restoration, who made it their design and business to foment and stir up suits at law against those who had then the management of affairs.

On the occasion of the meeting of the assembly on August 1st, 1665, for the election of a mayor, at the guildhall, "ye dore being broake open," as the town clerk adds in the margin, the mayor was absent, a circumstance without a precedent. The proceedings are thus recorded:—

All the Aldermen Bayliffs and Burgesses of ye town of Northampton in ye Peace of God and the King were mett and assembled together to elect a Mayor and Bayliffs for the yere ensueing having used our utmost endeavour to obtain ye Mayor's presence and assistance therein, whoe notwithstanding hath absented himselfe We therefore hereby Testify and Declare that we whose names are subscribed (had ye sd Mayor beene here present) would have noted Mr John Frend to have been mayor for ye yeare ensueing and hereby declare that we as much as in us lyeth) Doe hereby elect and choose Mr John Frend (one of ye Aldermen of this towne) to be mayor of this Corporation for the succeeding yeare Witnesse our hands this Tenth day of August In the Seventeenth year of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles ye second over England, etc., 1665.

Here follow the signatures of six aldermen, fifteen bailiffs, and thirty burgesses. A note signed "Henry Lee, Towne Clerk," is added to the effect that the assembly also elected John Summer and Richard Ebrall to be bailiffs.

On Michaelmas day, when the new mayor, Mr Frend, should have entertained the corporation and his friends, he was taken away prisoner, on the lord lieutenant's warrant, to Rushden, on some unknown charge. The aldermen, however, gave bail of £1000, for his loyalty, but ex-mayor Pickmer still refused to swear his successor, or to give up the great mace as the emblem of authority. Eventually, however, victory remained with Mr. Frend, who was sworn before the recorder. Mr. Pickmer, together with his friend Mr. Brafield (the king's mayor of 1662), were imprisoned for three weeks, and then fined, and disfranchised.

On August 2nd, 1666, Mr Richard Rands was elected mayor "by the greater number of the votes of this house, and the sum of 10^{li} wch he offered to fyne was refused and would not be accepted of." Of him it is further recorded that, being elected against his will, he made no feast, and did not so much as have the aldermen home to drink a glass of wine. The reflection on this in the Hall MS. is:—"he had more wit than to spend his money like others that went before."

In January, 1667–8, it was ordered that a return be made to the writ of mandamus or restitution brought by Mr John Brafield, the king's mayor of 1662, who had identified himself with Mr.

Pickmer's action of 1665, for restoring him to his office from which he was ejected "by order of His Ma^ty^ Counsell and the proceedings of this house, and that the Mayor and all persons concerned be borne out and indemnified from all charges and troubles that may thereby accrue at the public charge." The town attorney was ordered to make an appearance on behalf of the corporation.

Mr. Brafield lost his case, but he still persevered. His next step was to pick out certain members of the corporation, and to charge them in the court of exchequer with making a false return to the mandamus. In January, 1669–70, the assembly declared that the return was made by the whole house and not by any individuals, and after the advice of council, and they instructed those against whom Brafield had commenced his actions to defend them at the corporation's charge, and gave a bond as to their responsibility under the common seal.

A year later it was decided to refer the dispute between Brafield and the corporation to the two parliamentary burgesses of Northampton, Lord O'Brian, and Sir William Farmer.

Finally, in 1671–2, the corporation lost their case, notwithstanding their having acted in accordance with the direct commands of the privy council in their original action, and Mr. John Brafield was restored to his place and office as one of the aldermen. At the same time Mr. Francis Pickmer, the mayor who locked up the guildhall and set the whole corporation at defiance, was also restored to the like place and office of alderman.

It would appear that, notwithstanding the restoration, a considerable party remained in the Northampton corporation who resented what they considered undue crown interference, and that Mr. Brafield incurred their animosity, in 1662, as the royal choice. Mr. Pickmer subsequently posed as an extreme king's friend, and with his foolish action of 1665 Mr. Bradfield was identified.

In 1671, incidental mention is made of the "mayor's owne allowance of £30 for Feasting in his mayoralty."

At the assembly of August 2nd, 1694, there was a prolonged dispute as to mayoralty, resulting in a considerable benefit to the common purse of the corporation. Mr. Mayor nominated Mr. Jonathan Warner as mayor elect. Mr. Spencer being senior alderman nominated Mr. John Whithouse; the bailiffs and forty-eight nominated Mr. Ives. The result of the voting was the election of

Mr Ives, but he declined to serve and paid £10 fine. The mayor and Alderman Spencer repeated their nominations, but the bailiffs and burgesses nominated and secured the majority for Mr Wallis, who, however declined the honour and paid £10 fine. The mayor next nominated Mr Hayes, and Mr. Spencer, for the aldermen, Mr. Parr; but the bailiffs and burgesses secured the majority for Mr. Clifford, and he also declining was fined £10. The mayor's choice then fell on Mr Hoare, the aldermen on Mr. Ebrall, and the bailiffs and burgesses on Mr Whiston who was elected, but Mr. Whiston likewise refused to act—the usual fine was imposed and paid, he setting off a debt owed him by the corporation and therefore paying only 40s. The procedure now varied, Mr. Mayor proposed Mr. Else, and Mr Spencer proposed Mr. John Selby, whilst the bailiffs and burgesses refrained from any nomination of their own. The assembly divided, when the votes were found to be equal, and Mr. Mayor gave a second vote for Mr. Else, and he was declared duly elected. The town exchequer, however, again profited, for Mr Else refused to serve, and in his turn placed £10 on the table. Then the mayor nominated Mr. Jefficutt, and Mr. Spencer nominated Mr. Oldham whilst the bailiffs and burgesses nominated and carried Mr. Styles but Mr. Styles refused, and another £10 was paid to the chamber stock. Then again Mr. Mayor nominated Mr. Ivory, and the same being offered to the house, the house unanimously adopted him, even the unanimous vote of the now weary assembly did not pacify Mr Ivory, who preferred his freedom from office to the £10 penalty. The next move was that the mayor nominated Mr. Woolston the aldermen made no nomination, and the bailiffs and burgesses chose and carried Mr. Saunders, but he too refused and paid the £10. At length the mayor nominated Mr. John Collins, who by votes of the whole house was unanimously elected mayor, and being elected accepted of the office of mayoralty.

The arbitrary action of James II., in removing, two years in succession the elected mayors in favour of crown nominees is fully described in the subsequent section on "National Events."

In 1692, William Agutter became mayor. Hall's MS. says that having been chosen thrice and declining, he paid his £10 and was departing, "but the Mayor calling the Doorkeeper not to let him go out and desired him to stand by many entreaties he was constrained and stood, and took the £10 which he had laid on the board." It is

added that "this Mayor excelled many for temperance and sobriety, and did not sell the town land for claret, as others did."

In the following year Samuel Clifford was mayor, and on the August choice day great difficulty arose in persuading anyone to accept the office. The proceedings opened at noon. First, Robert Ives was chosen, and he paid £10 rather than serve, and his example was followed, with like results, by Messrs. Wallis, Gyles, Sanders, Clifford, Atterbury, and Whiston. "At last the Mayor being weary with chusing and being past eight at night he did determine to call an assembly next day, but being put in mind of Mr. Collins who was not there did send for him, he had not been bailiff, but to avoid the trouble of it he stood, being half-past nine o'clock." Thus ended a memorable continuous sitting of nine and a half hours' duration.

Of Mr. John Hoare, the mayor chosen in 1699, the Hall MS. remarks: "This Mayor was sick almost all the time of the Year, and after a long sickness (occasioned as supposed by much drinking and feasting) gave up the Ghost August 10th." The rest of the short time he had to serve was finished by Mr. John Clarke, his predecessor.

From the town records, we learn that, at an assembly held on August 3rd, 1699, to elect a new mayor, the then mayor, Mr. Hoare, was absent through severe sickness. Mr. Thomas Braheld was elected to act as usual at Michaelmas. Immediately afterwards Mr. Mayor Hoare died, and on August 10th the assembly again met to supply his place. Mr. Braheld declined to act till Michaelmas, and Mr. John Clarke was chosen for the interval. On October 13th Mr. Braheld took the chair as mayor at the important initial assembly of the corporate year. But his due appointment to the office could not be recognised until, under the act, he had received the blessed sacrament and obtained his certificate. Before this could be done the mayor met with an accident. On December 27th, 1699, an assembly was held, summoned by the aldermen for the electing of a mayor. "Mr. Braheld the present Mayor having broake his leg and not able to goe to Church to receive the Sacrament and qualifie himselfe accordeing to Lawe." The mayoress assembly therefore again formally elected Mr. Braheld, and as we find him duly presiding as mayor in the following March, we conclude he was able to receive the sacrament before that date.

In August 1702 the house divided on a motion for the restoration of burgess rights to one of the forty-eight (Mr. Benjamin Bulivant)

the town arms was further inscribed.—"We joy to call this worthy man our own."

Of Mr. Slowick Carr (1750), it is said that he was a most excellent magistrate, and first established the cheese fair, and regulated the markets, weights, and measures. To the great grief of the town, he died during his mayoralty.

During the mayoralty of Mr. Stamford Farrin, 1756-7, there was a great mob in the town, occasioned by the high price of corn, and by the conveying of flour into other counties. The rioters assembled opposite the mayor's house, in Mercer's Row, and broke his windows. The soldiers were called out, and fortunately the mob dispersed in much alarm when a volley was fired over their heads.

It was under the rule of Robert Balaam, mayor in 1765-6, that "the antient custom of having Plumb cakes at the Mayor's choice was dropt, to the vexation of many." It was at this choice that the assembly unanimously agreed that henceforth the mayors should have £50 annual allowance from the corporation stock, and not receive any allowance from the bailiffs.

The following year was noteworthy, as being one of the few occasions when a mayor (Mr. John Davis) was selected, who had not previously served the office of bailiff.

Owing to various petty disputes and jealousies with regard to the annual choice dinner or feast amongst the members of the corporation, it was resolved in 1796:—"That in future members of the Common Council be invited to dine with the mayor elect on the choice day of a mayor."

It was determined by the assembly in August, 1790, to allow the mayor £60 towards the expenses of serving his office, and it was requested that the mayor and bailiffs ask only members of the corporation "to the Choice and Feast."

The mayor's allowance in 1801 was increased to £105. In 1803 there were two candidates for the mayoralty, Messrs. Kirkham and Birdsall; the poll was taken by ballot when the latter was elected.

The assembly held on August 8th, 1805, was presided over by the mayor, Mr. Francis Hayes, when the business transacted was unusually varied and protracted. At its conclusion the mayor nominated Mr. Thomas Armfield, one of the bailiffs as his successor, and he was duly elected to take office at Michaelmas. It

had long been the custom for the mayor elect to entertain the corporation on the day of his nomination, which day was termed "the choice," and about this time it was usual for the entertainment to take the form of a ball. On the evening of August 8th, a considerable company assembled at the George Inn, to celebrate the appointment of Mr. Armfield, when Mr. Hayes, the mayor then in office (to use the words of the order book), "dropped down as he was dancing and instantly died." Another assembly was held on August 23rd when Mr. Armfield nominated Mr. Alderman Gibson to fill the mayor's office for the brief period till Michaelmas, and he was duly elected and sworn.

In 1808 the mayor (Thomas Hall) was not elected until seven others had refused their election, and respectively paid their £10 fine. Mr. Hall was advanced in years, and had already served three times as mayor, namely, 1789, 1794, and 1795. He was the only one of the old mayors who ever served four times, subsequent to the resolution of 1588, and shortly after the completion of his fourth term of office, the assembly presented him with their formal thanks "for the handsome manner in which he had consented to serve the office of mayor last year, and for his impartial conduct therein being the fourth time of his serving that office." It was further resolved that this resolution be entered on the minutes of the house and that a copy be signed by the town clerk, and by him presented to Mr. Hall.

The mayor's allowance was increased to £130 by the assembly in 1808, whilst it was significantly hinted that the house expected that there would be "liberal invitations for the Choice and Feast."

At the assembly held on March 23rd, 1810, Mr. Alderman Francis Osborn gave notice that he should move at the next assembly for a gold chain to be worn by the mayor for the time being on all public occasions; but when the house met on August 9th it is recorded that Mr. Osborn's motion about the chain was "adjourned until further notice."

In 1813 a motion for an extra allowance to the mayor was voted upon by ballot, and rejected.

Mr. William Brown was unanimously requested to serve again as mayor in August, 1814, and on his consenting the considerably-augmented grant of £220 was voted for his expenses in serving that office for the ensuing year.

In August, 1815, ten members duly nominated and elected to

serve as mayor were successively excused on payment of the £10 fine. At length Mr. William Brown consented to serve a third time, on condition that the allowance of £220 was repeated, which request was unanimously granted.

In August, 1821, the assembly resolved "that there be a Ball on every Mayor's Choice in future, and that next Year such Ball be in the Evening of the choice day, and that this Year the Ball be at such time as the Mayor and Bailiffs may think proper."

The next year this resolution as to the ball was altered to the "evening after the Feast on the Mayors Choice, except such evening be on a Saturday or Sunday, and then on the Monday after the Feast."

At the assembly held on April 3rd, 1823, the town clerk (Mr. Jeyes) "presented to the Corporation a Gold Chain which he begged their acceptance of as a mark of the kindness which he has at all times experienced from the Corporation which Chain the Town Clerk requested might be worn by the Mayor for the time being on all public occasions."

At the August assembly, 1824, eight members were successively proposed as mayors, and refusing were fined £10 each. Eventually Mr. James Castell was elected, and the house expressed the opinion that it was desirable to increase the allowance for the mayor and bailiffs No sooner was the election accomplished, than Mr. Alderman Holt moved and carried that all the fines just paid by the recalcitrant members be restored to them, thus reducing the proceedings to a farce. At the next assembly, held on September 3rd, the house ordered that the mayor's allowance be increased to £200, and that of each of the bailiffs to £26 5s.

The August assembly of 1829 saw a like scene, for on that occasion eight members of the house were duly elected and successively relieved of the office on paying the £10 fine. Eventually Mr. John Marshall, the out-going mayor, was re-elected, and consented to act At the next assembly £150 additional allowance (making £350 in all) was voted.

In August, 1831, the assembly decided to dispense with the annual ball given by the mayor and bailiffs; that the allowance of fifty guineas to the bailiffs be withdrawn (leaving them to take the rent of the Bailiffs' Hook as heretofore); and that the mayor's allowance be reduced to £150.

It is rather significant that the minutes of the last August

meeting of the old corporation (1835) are chiefly taken up with resolutions as to the "Choice Dinner"; it was ordered to be held as usual at Mr. Nippin's at the Saracen's Head Inn, and paid for out of the corporation funds. Mr. Charles Freeman, the reforming chairman of the 1833 audit committee, was appointed mayor-elect.

The last meeting of the old corporation was on December 24th, 1835.

Mayors' Accounts.

Separate Mayors' Accounts for each year begin in 1676, and consist of about eight leaves folded in quarto. They are twenty-eight in number; the last one is for 1713; those for 1680, 1681, 1683, 1685, 1688, 1689, 1699, 1710, 1711, and 1712 are missing.

As an example of the nature of the mayor's accounts, as distinguished from those of the chamberlain or treasurer, it has been thought well to reproduce the whole of the accounts for 1676–7. It is a year of special interest because of the Great Fire of Northampton. The entries as to the visits of the commissioners, the chimney tax (remitted by the king), and the frequent communications with Lord Northampton and their member Lord O'Brian, all refer to that calamity:—

The accompt of Mr. John Frend as Mayor of Northampton from the feast of St. Michael 1676:—

	£.	s.	d.
Imprs. recd. of Martha Bellwidd for her Freedome	10	[illegible]	0
It. recd. of John Simpson for his Freedome	10	0	0
It. recd. of Solomon Bray for his Freedome	10	0	0
It. recd. of Samuel Allen the 2nd payment for his Freedome	5	0	0
It. recd. of John Woolston Apprentice to John Knight	0	10	0
It. recd. of Thomas Hoboy Appr. to Rice Mullner	0	10	0
It. recd of Robert Hunt Appr. to Robert Man	0	10	0
It. recd. of John Marcey Appr. to Robert Ives senr.	0	10	0
It recd. of John Fox Appr. to Tho. Fox his father	0	10	0
It. recd. of Jeremiah Assaby Appr. to William Austen	0	10	0
It. recd. the horse race money	2	[illegible]	0
It. recd. of Mr. Knighton upon the foot of his Accompt due to the towne	2	3	0
It. recd. of Tho. Bishop in pt. of his Freedome	2	0	0
It. recd. of Mr. Percivall in pt. of his Freedome	2	0	0
It. recd. of Edw. Drury in full for his Freedome & d'lred. up the Bond ..	3	0	0
It. recd. of Robert Sibley for pt. of his Freedome money	2	0	0
It. recd. of Wm. Jeffery in pt. of his Freedome	2	0	0
It. recd. of George White in pt. for his Freedome	2	0	0
It. recd. of George Bennett in pt. of his Freedome	2	0	0
It. recd. of Maurice Bird for the like	2	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
It. recd. of John Trotter in pt of his Freedome money	1	0	0
It. recd. of Mr Parr and Mrs. Short pt. of the Fee Farme money	55	0	0
It. recd. of Mr Wm. Else in discharge of his Accompt.	20	0	0
It recd. of Mr. Jonas Whiston upon the foot of his Acct due to ye towne	10	4	[illegible]
It recd of Mrs Ventris upon composition upon the death of her husband	50	0	0
It. recd of Mr. Floyd in pt. pay the Dexne and Canons of Windsor	30	0	[illegible]
It. recd of Samuel Scriven Arrears of Rent	10	0	0
It. recd of John Sibley in pt of Arrears of Rent	17	2	0
It. recd. of Mr Theo. Whiston and Mr Ed. Ward 3 yrs. rent for Cotton Marsh Meadow	16	10	0
It. recd of Mr. John Twigden senr for Arrears of Rent	2	0	0
It. recd. of John Twigden jun his Constables levy rend. in his hands	2	0	0
Recd upon the foot of Mr. Howes accompt.	5	15	4
Recd. of Christopher Hawkins pt. of his Freedome money	5	0	0

PAYMTS BY THIS ACCOMPT.

Payd at the Sacramt. at Sepulchers	0	2	6
& at Sess. to Cl. of the Peace and Bayliffe	0	3	0
Pd. a messinger from the Comrs to Billing to Ld O'Brian	0	0	4
Pd for Carriage of a Deputation to Browne and Cocker to Bristoll	0	0	4
Pd for portage of the money chest from Mr. Knighton to the hall	0	0	6
Pd Wm. Osmond & another watching one night at hall to secure the money	0	1	6
Pd Harry Dover the 2nd night	0	1	[illegible]
Pd. the Jury for the Vernalls Enquest	0	10	0
Pd John Stamford for bringing downe the Comm. for Gaole delivery	0	2	0
Pd. Ed Lee for writeing to the Ld of Northton	0	0	6
Pd. Dover for carrying a Coppy of his Ma[ty] grt. of Chimney to Mr. Geo Clark at Weston	0	0	6
Spent on Mr. A Hawell when he brought Ld. O'Briens 10[li] for ye Poore	0	0	6
16 Jan. '76 Spent at Swann upon the Com. meeting about the Church and towne concerns at Sess. house	0	11	6
19 Jan Pd. at George wayting upon the Ld of Northton about the Church	1	12	6
Pd. a messenger to severall towns to desire the Comrs to meete about the Church	0	1	0
Pd Mr. Robt Clerk towne Counsell his salary	2	0	0
Feb. 2 Pd Ed Lee writing 4 copyes of the Act for the Minister of All Sts	0	8	0
Given to the Ld. O Briens serveants when we wayted on him	0	7	6
Pd carrying a Copy of the Act to my Ld.	0	0	6
Pd for horse hire to Ld O Brien for myselfe Mr. Lee and R Sherwood	0	3	0
Given to the Ld. Northtons servants when we wayted on him to shew him a Coppy of the Act	1	0	0
For horse hire for myselfe Mr Massingbed Mr. Spenser, Mr. Lee and Samuel Osmond	0	5	6
28 Feb 76 Given Mr Geo Clerks servants when we wayted upon him before he went to Parliamt	0	12	0
And for horse hire for myselfe Mr. Massingbred Mr. Lee and one of the serjts	0	5	0

	£.	s.	d.
9 Feb. Spent at Swan upon the Coms. before they went to Parliament	1	16	[illegible]
Spent on Lord Arlington's gent's servant that brought 180ll...	0	2	6
Given John Mercer for writeing severall tymes to Mr. Pilkington ..	0	1	6
Pd. Mr. Recorder for his assistance about Mrs. Ventris bequest	1	0	0
Pd. Mr. Morgan the like	1	0	0
Pd. Mr. Pickmer for his paines	0	10	0
Pd. Mr. Lees for his paynes	0	10	[illegible]
Pd. Mr. Farmer for his assistance	0	5	0
Pd. Mr. James man bringing the duplicate of the tax to send to London	0	0	6
Pd. for Wyne and Beere for the Coms. at severall meetings at towne hall as by particuler	2	16	4
Pd. Wm. Osmond for a journey to London to the Ld. O'Brien about the tax	1	[illegible]	0
Pd. Tho. Briteman for horse hire then	0	9	0
28 March 77 Pd. Dover going to Dallington and Kingsthorpe to get hands to Mr. Massingberds Deputation	0	0	6
Pd. Mr. Barnes mending the towne seale	0	1	0
Pd. Wm. Osmond a Journey to London about the Chimneys	1	7	[illegible]
Pd. for his horse hire...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10 April 77 Pd Mr. Archer writeing to the Ld. Chancellor	0	1	0
Pd. Mr. Morgans man for writings about Mrs. Ventres bequest	0	3	0
Pd. at Swan when Court mett about towne business	0	[illegible]	0
Spent at severall tymes about Mrs. Ventris bequest	0	3	6
Spent upon Chiefe Constables bringing Briefe money	0	2	0
Spent upon Mr. Fennis about Dr. Conante money	0	0	6
Pd. Mr. Howes horse hire for severall journeys to Ld. Northton Ld O'Brien and Mr. Clerke	0	6	0
27 Ap. 77 Pd. Tho. Fitzhugh and Ed. Frend for Wyne to Treatt the Ld. O'Brien at hall	1	13	0
Pd. Giles Wingrave mending a Lock where the Coles lay	0	0	4
Pd. Wm. Osmond for a Journey to Sr Roger Norwick and to the Bellhanger	0	5	6
Pd. Mr. Barnes mending ye Mace	0	2	0
Pd. Mr. Brafield for 15 Bottles Clarrett and of Sack for the Coms. at first meeting about the Tax	0	17	0
Given to Sr John Holmans servants when we mett the Archdeacon there about the Church	0	6	0
Pd. Mr. Carl for a Coppy of Mr. Pilkingtons gift...	0	5	0
17 May Pd. for horse for Mr. Lee to Ld. O'Brien about the Tax	0	1	6
21 May Pd. for carriage of 18ll and ½ of Bell Mettall sent to London to Mr. Massingberd for a tryall	0	1	0
22 May 77 Pd. Archer for writeing to the Lord Trer:	0	1	0
Pd. Mr. Knighton to give the Ld. O'Briens servants wayting upon Mr. Secretary	0	10	6
Pd. for horse hire for Mr. Knighton Mr. Howse Mr. Rands and Mr. Lee	0	4	6
20 July Pd. for horse hire for Mr. Lee and Wm. Osmond to goe to Ld. O'Briens in the night	0	3	0
Pd. for horse hire and other expenses for Mr. Lee goinge to Sr. Roger Norwich to Buy Ketton stone	0	3	0
Pd. Mr. Recorder, his Salary 4 guineas	4	6	0

	£.	s.	d.
Pd 4 labourers mending the highway to Abbington and W. Scriven's man	0	5	0
Pd. the Clerke of Assize for an order namely Judge Wyndeham's hand to take off Issues about the highway	0	2	6
Given to a poore woman and her childe sent out of the Fenns... ...	0	2	0
Pd. Peddlie for horse and his owne paines to carry the woman to Preston upon the hill where she was borne	0	2	6
17 Aug 77 Pd. Wm. Osmond for carrying the order to be handed by Mr. Geo. Clerk at Weston about 1s. per h.	0	0	6
25 Aug Pd. Ed. Lee writing an Instrument to settle Mr. Smart's gift being under the towne seale	0	2	6
Pd. thire for a pint of Sack for Mr. Pilkington	0	1	0
24 Aug Given Sr. Wm Farmer's servants when we wayted on him	1	0	0
29 Aug Given the Coachman that carryed me with Capt. Willughby ...	0	2	6
Pd Sam. Osmond's horsehire	0	1	0
Pd. to treate the Aldermen of Coventry for wyne...	0	5	8
Pd Mr King for carriage of the Exemplification of the Act ..	0	1	0
Spent upon Sr. Wm. Farmer's gent. for bringing the 100li	0	1	0
3 Sept. Given to the Ld. Ch. Justice servants when we wayted on him	0	10	0
Pd for the coppy of the Privy Seale's carriage	0	0	6
Pd. for a bottle of Sack and for a botle of Rhenish wyne when he came to towne Sr Wm Farmer	0	3	8
Payd Matthias Dawes' Constable Bill	0	6	0
Pd. Mr White's " "	0	16	0
Pd. Mr. Styles' " "	1	6	4
Pd. Mr. Rowell's " "	2	5	0
Pd. for Letters as by particulars	1	3	6
Pd. for Parchment and wax about the towne busyness	0	1	0
Given at several tymes to passengers	0	12	0
Pd. when Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Wallace and Mr. King received their Deputation for the Chimney and writeings	0	8	0
Pd. Danl. Whitehead for bringing an old book of the Chimneys ..	0	1	0
Pd Mr. Hunt when we took off the mortgage from the Mills	200	0	0
Payd Mr. Agutter Mr Edwards and Sam. Osmund's charges paying the same at Stamford	1	13	4
Pd. for horse hire	0	12	0
& given Saml. Osmond's paynes	0	3	4
Payd Saml Osmond for a letter carrying to the Ld. Northtons ..	0	1	0
Pd. Mr. Horton to pay the Deane and Chapter of Windsor and for the Quietus	34	0	0
Pd. for my Journey and Mr. Harris to London	5	4	0
I paid a Freeman according to an ancient Order	10	0	0
Pd. Mr. Theoph. Whiston due to him on the foot of his Accompt ...	4	17	5
Pd. the horse race money to the Poore on St. Thomas day... ...	2	0	0
Due to me out of Mr. Cheyney's gift...	0	4	0
& out of Mr. Prior's gift	0	3	4
& out of Mr. Neale's gift	0	3	4
Pd for perfecting this Book of Accts.	0	3	4
The recte of this Accompt are Two hundred Nynty Three Pounds Four Shillings and Fourpence	293	4	4

	£.	s.	d.
The Paym^te are Two hundred Nynty Nyne Pounds Fourteen Shillings and Fourpence	299	14	4
The Paym^te being the greater sume there remains due to the Accompt Six Pounds Ten Shillings	6	10	0

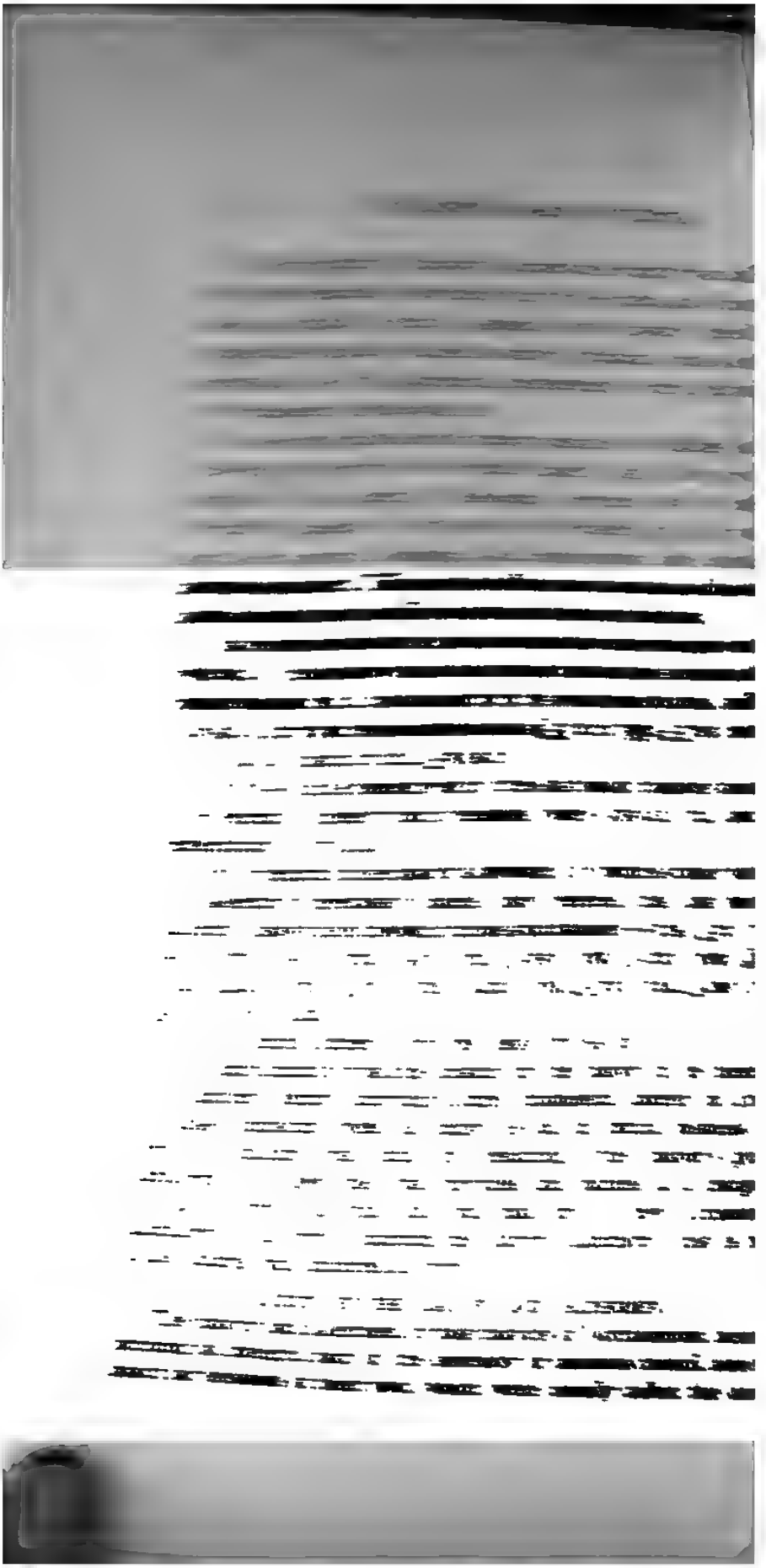
Battle Maning Mayor
Rich White
Rich Massingberd
John Brafield
Rs Rands

Willm Spenser
Tho· Atterbury
Theo : Whiston
Willi : Else
Daniel Poole
Willm Agutter

The following are a few of the more noteworthy entries in the subsequent years of these separate accounts: —

1678 Payd Henry Dover and Wm. Osmond for going into Country to procure some Justices to make a Sessions .	0	1	0
Pd for an Act of Parliament for Observation of the Lord's day	0	0	10
Pd. for a bottle of Sack to drink with the Ld. O'Brien when he wrote to the E. of Peterbro	0	2	0
Pd. for 2 bottles of Sack for Sr John Holman and Mr. Stedman at Swan meeting about a Petition to the Bp. of Lyncolne	0	4	0
Pd a messenger from S^r. Roger Norwich about Harborow Bells . ..	0	1	6
Given Robt Morton a soldier of Capt Willughbys sick sent away by a passe	0	2	6
Pd to a Messenger that brought 2 Proclamations	0	5	0
My charges to London in April with Samuel Osmond in obteyning the timber and getting an order for the goeing on of the Church	5	0	0
Pd when the Jesuits' Books were carried to London to one of his Maties Officers	0	4	0
Given to the Disbanded Soldiers at several times	0	10	0
1686 Pd for 4 bottles of Sack at 2 payments of Dr. Conant	0	8	0
Pd Mr Buckby his Fee about the Robery and a bottle of Sack ...	0	12	0
Pd for the Coach when I went to Ld Northampton's to be sworne ...	0	16	0
Pd. Serjt. Buckby his salary as Recorder in Guineys	4	6	0
10s being badd money, sold it for 9s and lost 11s	0	11	0
1687 Pd at London for the King's warrant about the new Charter and other fees	10	0	0
Spent upon the Commissioners of the Chimney money at Peacock, Mr. Lee being there	0	4	0
Pd for horsehire to London to swear Ld. Peterbrow Recorder	1	7	0
Expenses for our horses and ourselve	3	10	0
Pd. Serjt Buckby for drawing the Adresse to the King	1	1	6
Pd, att severall tymes to poore people and travellers	1	2	2

Amongst the corporation books is a folio volume of mayors' and chamberlains' accounts. The mayors' accounts come first, and extend, with a few gaps, over the period from 1690–1 to 1744–5. Another folio volume, confined solely to the mayors' accounts, carries these returns on from 1745–6 to 1835.



The receipts in the mayors' accounts are mainly from admissions to the freedom of the borough, from the fee farm, and from certain lands originally specially assigned for the mayor's benefit. The expenditure usually includes a variety of drinking treats and vails to servants, as well as payments for messengers, letters, petitions, acts of parliament, legal books, etc.

Two entries that occur for many years are ten shillings each for dinners to the jury of the Vernall's inquest and to the jury of the clerk of the market. Subsequent reference will be made to Vernall's inquest. In 1736 one of the beadles got £1 for sweeping the mayor's doorstep, and henceforward that became an annual payment The position of the mayor as clerk of the market and as escheator is briefly considered in the next section

It is curious to notice in many cases how expenses grew as time went on. For many years the dinner at sessions is entered at the modest sum of 2s., but about 1712 it is increased to 20s., and then to 30s.; in 1730 it reached the sum of £3; in 1739, £3 7s., in 1740, £3 19s. 6d.; and in 1742, £5 6s 6d

In 1745-6, the opening year of the last book of mayors' accounts, the receipts (chiefly from freedoms) were £105 2s 7d., and the expenditure £107 4s. 3d.

With regard to the mayor's allowance, to which so many votes of the assembly previously quoted have referred, this last book of accounts shows the following curious fluctuations:—1745, £30; 1765, £50, 1783, £80; 1799, £60; 1801, £105; 1803, £126, 1806, £130; 1814, £220; 1816, £130; 1818, £220, 1819, £130, 1824, £200, 1829, £350; 1830, £200.

The "choice dinner" for 1800 cost £171 8s. 8d

On dark nights it was the custom for the mayor to be preceded by a lantern bearer carrying a large ornamental lantern on a pole, on those occasions when he might be out on official business. In 1671 a shilling was paid for repairing "the mayor's greate lanthorne"; a new pole was provided and painted at a charge of 1s. 9d. in 1703. In 1748 12s. was paid for "a new Corporation Lanthorn." In 1772 "painting the Mayor's Lanthorn" cost 1s 6d; a like charge was incurred in 1777.

Court of the Mayor and Aldermen.

The mayor and aldermen, or past mayors of Northampton, besides forming an integral part of the assembly or common council, also sat apart for sessions of their own, which were usually called the court

of the mayor and his brethren, or the court of the mayor and aldermen.

Their chief administrative powers, apart from the rest of the council, were the exercise of patronage in the case of corporation officials, the appointment to vacancies in the forty-eight, the removal and fining of all members of the council for misbehaviour or incompetence, the administration of a variety of charities, and the important privilege of fixing the day and hour for the meeting of the assembly. Latterly the voting of pensions to themselves or to the widows of late aldermen was one of the duties that this court assumed.

As to patronage, this was now and again a source of dispute between the aldermen and assembly, and the latter occasionally asserted itself in a remarkable manner. It also changed somewhat under different charters. It will be best, therefore, to give lists of the annual appointments made at Michaelmas solely by the mayor and aldermen in a certain number of years, during the period with which we are mainly concerned in this volume. In 1584 they appointed chamberlain, two justices, four coroners, four auditors, five constables, ten thirdboroughs, and the warden of St. Thomas' hospital; in 1600, four coroners, five auditors, two key-keepers, and the constables and thirdboroughs for each ward; in 1628, four coroners, six auditors, two chamberlains, a warden and two masters of St. Thomas, the constables and thirdboroughs, two conduit-masters, and four searchers for unwholesome flesh and fowl; in 1745, the coroner, warden and master of St. Thomas, the constables, two sealers of leather, two tasters of flesh and fowl, and the auditors; and in 1819, two coroners, chamberlain, warden of St. Thomas, two flesh and fowl tasters, two searchers and sealers of leather, the constables, the receiver of rents of tolls and butcher stalls, the general treasurer, the receiver of town rents, and other receivers of special rents.

In addition to these annual appointments, the mayor and aldermen also elected (for life or good behaviour) the town clerk and town attorney, the steward, the macebearer, four sergeants, hall keeper, town crier, sexton of All Saints, and two beadles.

On May 17th, 1630, it was ordered "that the Maior and Aldermen shall meete everie Thursday fortnight at Hall immediatlie after the lecture from the Church to the Hall for halfe an houre and further as occasion shall serve to consult about public affaires

upon paine of forfyture of xij^{d} a piece to the chamber to be levied by distres at Mr. Maiors discretion from tyme to tyme."

The regular brief minute books of the aldermen's court begin in 1694, and the first volume ends in 1771. The subjects on which resolutions were passed were the voting of money (in sums varying from twenty shillings to five pounds) to parents for apprentices; the appointments and removals of sergeants, the filling up of vacancies in the forty-eight who were sworn before them, the appointments and duties of town crier and sexton; the repairs of Wood hill and Corn hill out of the tolls which they administered; instructions to the chamberlain as to the paving of channels; market dues and regulations; the removal of those of the corporation who had left the town, or become infirm; the fixing of dates for the assembly; the filling up of vacancies in the several almshouses and the lazer-house; and appointing to temporary vacancies among the constables.

The regular meetings of last century were usually held about twice a year, but oftener as occasion required. The aldermen often met at the town hall or guildhall, but not infrequently at inns. This meeting of the aldermen at licensed houses doubtless accounts for their considerable expenditure on wine, on which we have commented elsewhere. Between 1694 and 1771 they met often at the Rose and Crown, and occasionally at the Red Lion, Peacock, and the Golden Lion. On one occasion the assembly of the aldermen was held at Mr. Brian Aliston's house, who was at that time macebearer; but a more singular meeting place was at "Mr. Chadwicks' at the Gaole." Coffee-houses had by this time become well established in Northampton, and we find that the aldermen met officially at "the Bayliffs' coffee-house," and at the coffee-houses which belonged respectively to Saunders, William Higgs, and John Baylis. Yet one more place of meeting may be named, and that is "Mr. Mayor's House."

In 1719-20 there was a curious dispute as to the pension assigned to Alderman Green from the corn tolls.

On October 30th, 1719, the corporation ordered that Alderman James Green should cease to receive the corn tolls of the town; that these tolls should be taken and received by Robert Watts, sexton of All Saints; that Robert Watts should pay Alderman Green every Saturday night 4s. out of these tolls; and that if Alderman Green accept this pension that he cease, by reason thereof, to be a member of the corporation. On March 20th,

1719–20, it was "ordered that Alderman James Green (whose weekly allowance out of the profits arising from the Toles of the Corn has for some time past beene stopt for his abuses towards Mr. Mayor and others) doe receive and be paid four shillings weekly from this date until the contrary be ordered, and that the said Mr. James Green notwithstanding his receiving such weekly allowance as pension doe act as an Alderman and Member of this Coporation in all points and respects as heretofore he hath done, any former order to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mr. Green's case came up again before the mayor and aldermen on September 30th, 1720, when they ordered that their pensioned colleague was constantly to give his attendance at all assemblies and public meetings about corporation or town business, and was always for the future "to vote as the Mayor for the tyme being shall vote on all Ellection and other Occasions whatsoever!" To secure his vote it was further ordered that the very first time he voted against the mayor, his pension would cease!!

The second book of minutes extends from 1771 to 1797. Several resolutions are entered as to fixing the hour and day of the assemblies. It is interesting to note that it was frequently arranged that the assembly should be held directly after morning prayer on Wednesday or Friday. Other resolutions cover almost precisely the same ground as those contained in the first book. The meetings were held for the most part at the guildhall: but the aldermen met nine times at the George, and seven times at the Angel.

Bailiffs.

The original charter of Northampton of 1189 contains no mention of the bailiffs, but eleven years later John's charter provided for the annual election of a reeve or mayor at Michaelmas, and at the same time empowered the common council of the town or the assembly to choose two of the more lawful and discreet burgesses to well and faithfully keep the reeveship. These two special burgesses or bailiffs were to be permanent appointments during good conduct, and then only removable by the common council. The bailiffs then, according to the original charter intention, were intended to act, by their permanency, as a check on the annually-elected reeve, in fact as a kind of second chamber. The bailiffs had, on appointment, to proceed to London to take their oaths before the king's chief justice.

The appointing of two bailiffs as a permanency continued to be the rule at Northampton for just about a century. A change came with Edward I. charter of 1269. By this charter the two bailiffs were to be elected annually by the assembly at Michaelmas, at the same time as the mayor, and the visit to London to take the oath was henceforth only expected of the mayor.

By the charter of 1618 the bailiffs were to be chosen exclusively from the company of the forty-eight; this had probably been the custom since 1489, but had not till then been expressly laid down.

Many an old corporate town of England was under the local rule of two bailiffs, without any mayor, up to the time of Elizabeth, but there were very few that were considered of sufficient importance to share with Northampton the exceptional privilege of having at the same time three such important officials as a mayor and two bailiffs. It is but one of the many signs of the exceptional importance of the town of Northampton.

In 1555 it is recorded, in the minutes of the assembly, that it "pleasyd god to take into his mercy Willm Elyot one of the balluys of the towne who dwellyd at the signe of the George and sold wyne, upon whose sole god have mercy, amen." The assembly was summoned on April 2nd to elect Elyot's successor, when John Brightwen, chandler and ironmonger, was eventually chosen, duly elected, and sworn into office as bailiff. The choice of the assembly, however, first fell upon John Gratwood, dwelling at the sign of the Helmet innholder, but, for his "folyshe obstinacye and refusing of the balwywick and also for troblyng of the same assemble so godly accompanyed together," was fined £10.

At the same assembly John Estrigg, "hilliar" (tiler), was discharged of the office of bailiff by reason of his old age and impotency, he paying a fine of £6.

It was ordered in 1566 that the bailiffs were yearly at their own cost to procure a sufficient *quietus est* for the payment of the fee-farm, and to exhibit this quittance before the mayor and his brethren at the first court day held in the guildhall at the end of Easter term next following the discharge of their office, under a penalty of £5.

The assembly, in 1569, ordered that the bailiffs for the time being were every year to deliver up to the mayor their register book "for the sale and tale of horsys and mares accordinge to the statute," within fourteen days after Michaelmas, upon pain of 20s.

An ordinance of 1599 provided that four of those who had been bailiffs were to sit with the mayor as assistants every court day in the guildhall (together with two aldermen), and to remain until the court was closed. Due summons to the court was to be served by the mayor's serjeant, and any bailiff making default was to pay a fine of 12d.

During the Commonwealth, the bailiffs had important duties assigned to them in connection with the share of keeping watch and ward and superintending the repairs of the walls. For the walls and other town fortifications, the bailiffs were always held responsible. The bailiffs were also responsible for the due payment of the fee-farm rent. Various other particulars with regard to these and other duties of the bailiffs will be found under other headings.

At the assembly in August, 1713, three duly nominated bailiffs refused to serve, and were each fined £10.

In 1724 the assembly interfered to stop, under pain of prosecution, the custom, used by the two bailiffs for the time being, of licensing strangers and foreigners to hawk the town with goods and merchandise to their own advantage, and also of "contracting and agreeing with Empyricks Quack Doctors and Mountebanks to erect and set up Stages in this town which by experience has been found to be prejudicial to the Markets."

The arrangements of the fairs and markets were usually in the hands of the bailiffs.

One of the more important functions of the town bailiffs was their acting either personally, or through properly appointed servants or beadles, to execute the precepts and warrants of the local justices, to arrest for debt, and to act in all cases in which sheriff's bailiffs were the proper officials outside their jurisdiction. The records bear witness to various attempts on the part of the county to ignore the privileges of the borough.

In the beginning of the reign of James I. the sheriffs of the county frequently encroached upon the charter liberties of the townsmen of Northampton. About the year 1610 the corporation appealed to the county justices in quarter sessions to check these vexatious actions. The justices were readily convinced that the county officials, whether sheriff, magistrates, or bailiffs, had no jurisdiction within the borough, and instructed Mr Gage, the clerk of the peace, to enroll the Northampton charter at large for their

future guidance, for which enrolment the corporation paid the clerk of the peace's fee of £1 13s. 4d.

Within, however, a brief space of time sheriff's warrants were again served upon several freemen resident within the liberties of Northampton, and their goods and chattels seized by the county bailiffs for non-payment of certain fines enforced by quarter sessions. This naturally roused the wrath of the corporation, and at an assembly held on April 20th, 1612, it was ordered that Gage should be forthwith presented for this damage at the charge of the chamber in the way these counsel shall advise, as "the saide Gage is the onelie means whereby the corporation is molested."

In the following year a still greater indignity was done, for Christopher Young, one of the serjeants to the mace of the bailiffs, was arrested by Richard Lambe a sheriff's officer, "by vertue of an ordinarie *Capias ad satisfaciendum*." For this intrusion the assembly ordered that Lambe should be forthwith sued, according to the advice of counsel.

Great complaint was made in 1636 of the intrusion of the sheriff and his bailiffs into the liberties of the town, by using processes and executing diverse other offices contrary to charter. The assembly ordered the legal prosecution of the sheriff for the next offence. In 1650 the assembly ordered the immediate prosecution of the sheriff by the town attorney for an offence of this character. In 1677 the sheriff's bailiffs were sued for an unlawful arrest within the liberties; and this action was repeated in 1692.

The following order was made by the assembly on May 10th, 1722:—

"That the next time the Sheriff of the County or any of his Bailiffs or Officers shall presume to arrest any person or persons within the Liberty of this Corporation upon any Writ or Process issuing out of the County above (unless it it be upon a *Non Dimittus*) without first asking and obtaining Leave for that purpose from the Bailiffs of the Corporation for the time being That upon the Discovery thereof an Action be forthwith brought against the person or persons offending herein at the Corporation Charge in such manner as Mr. D'Anvers the Deputy Recorder shall advise."

On the 24th August, 1728, one of the officers of the high sheriff of the county, without the consent or privity of the bailiffs of the corporation, made a distress on the goods of Richard Bradshaw, a freeman and inhabitant of Northampton, at his dwelling-house there, for not appearing in the sheriff's court upon a summons to

answer to a small debt. It was further alleged that the officer was intolerably insolent and abusive when he took distress, and uttered very disrespectful words of the corporation. The assembly took the opinion of their deputy recorder, Mr. Cuthbert, whether this conduct of the sheriff's officer was not a direct violation of the charter of Charles II., and sufficient to ground an action upon; they further inquired if an action will lie, whether the same must be brought against the sheriff or his officer, and whether the same be begun in the name of the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses, or in the name of the two bailiffs who were in office when the distress was made?

Mr. Cuthbert's opinion was as follows:—

I apprehend that ye taking of a Distress by ye Sheriff's Officer in manner as above is an Infringement upon ye Libertys of ye Corporation. I think an action on ye case will lye for infringing upon and disturbing of ye Mayor Bailiffs and Burgesses in ye enjoyment of their franchise, and that the action must be brought in ye name of ye Mayor Bailiffs and Burgesses of the towne of Northampton and against ye officer that executed ye same, and if ye Sheriff will own that he gave him order to execute it, he may and ought to be a party.

In 1785 the court of aldermen fined the bailiffs 5s. each for appearing in assembly without their bailiffs' gowns, and another 5s. each for refusing to go in procession from the guildhall to the church with the mayor. Hall's MS. explains that what he terms their spirited conduct came about through their being chosen against their consent.

The year after the granting of the new charter (1797), the assembly experienced considerable difficulty in finding a second bailiff. On the mayor-elect proposing Messrs. Cattern and Hall as his bailiffs, the former was duly elected, but the latter proposed Mr. Hillyard. The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Hall, who refused, and placed £10 in the hands of the mayor to be excused. Thereupon the mayor proposed Mr. Levi, and Mr. Levi nominated Mr. Dunkley, but the majority of the hands were in favour of Mr. Levi, who refusing the office paid £10 to the mayor. After Messrs. Sutton, Freeman, and Cooch had all been respectively nominated and elected, and excused on the several payment of £10, Mr. John Gibson accepted the office. These proceedings lasted for two hours. In 1803 four nominated and elected bailiffs paid the £10 rather than serve.

The bailiffs were allowed, in 1709, £5 each towards the expenses of their office, exclusive of the produce of the rent of a meadow called "Bailiffs' Hook." The bailiffs allowance was increased in 1801 to £21 each; such sum to include any rents they received. Bailiffs' Hook was a large river meadow, on the Cotton side of the south bridge, to the south-east of the town.

THE CHAMBERLAINS AND THEIR ACCOUNTS.

The chief function of the chamberlain was the keeping of the general accounts of the town—an office that eventually became absorbed in that of the treasurer.

In association with the name of this official, it is of interest to notice that at Northampton the orders of the assembly usually refer to the common purse of the town by the name of "the chamber" *Camera* was a term frequently used in low Latin to signify a chest or box, as well as a small private apartment or chamber.

The common chest or town treasury had two keys, one of which was kept by the mayor, and the other by the chamberlain for the time being.

On one of the earlier pages of the irregularly-kept first volume of the orders of assembly, are entered the accounts of the town chamberlain for the year 1554, of which the following is a verbatim transcript :—

The aconptts of Willm harpoll, chamberlayn in the first yere of quene Marye A^d 1554.

The Seyde Willm bringithe in acompte of all the Receyptes comen to hys handes as by hys booke yt may apeare of iiij^li x^s iij^d (£80 10s. 3d.) whereof he dothe aske allowaunce whiche he hathe payd, as dothe apeare by his acompte lxx^li ij^s x^d ob.

So Remaynithe in hys handes, as dothe apeare xviij^li vij^s iiij^d ob.

Item he dothe aske allowance of certen docketes to the some of xi^s iiij^d

So Rest declaro (*sic*) in hys handes xvij^li xv^s ob thereof payd as folowethe.

In primis to Mr Neale at the making of this acompte w^t the town owthe hym in partie payment of x^li, vj^li xiij^s iiij^d and the seyd Mr. Neale dyd owe the towne v markes, which made upe x^li. And the seyd Mr. Neale must have x^li at Mychelmas A^o Dni 1555, and so quyte.

Item Willm harpoll dyd pay Willm taylor maiour xj^li ij^s viij^d ob in full payment of his owte xvij^li xij^s ob afforeseyd, and so quyt

Also John Adams dyd bring in his acompte for the town vesselles for one holl yere and for the hyer of the same vesselles xv^s iiij^d ob Delyv'd to the chamberlayn John Brightmen, et sic quietus.

The acompte of John harpole for his charge at London A^o 1554.

John Harpole dyd bring in to the Chamber treas^or all his charges allowyd, js whereof was allowed vj^d wh. he gave to Mr. Chaunt in wine So rest x^s vj^d wh was p^d to Mr. taylor maior x^s vjd.

Item Willm Taylor maior dyd pay to John Brightwen chamberlayn as treasor to the town the charter being payd and discharged wch cost xvj^li, the some of v^li ij^d ob, et sic quietus.

The reason of chamberlain Harpole's journey to London was doubtless in connection with the obtaining of the confirmation charter from Philip and Mary. It was granted, as has been seen in the previous volume, on October 15th, 1554.

It was decided in 1555 that the chamberlain for the time being should not be chosen into any other office, such as bailiff or constable, until he hath made his account to the chamber, and a new one chosen in his place.

The *Liber Custumarum* shows that the office of chamberlain was duplicated in the fifteenth century; but it afterwards seems to have drifted into single hands.

On May 20th, 1592, the assembly ordered that on and after the next feast of St. Michael "there shalbe two standing chamberlaynes elected"; it was provided that they were to be ready at all times to make their accounts to the mayor, and to make payment of all such moneys and arrears to him as shall be due.

From this time onwards, for about a century, there were two chamberlains, who each held office for two years. One was elected every October assembly, and the one then elected was termed the younger chamberlain; in the following October he became the elder chamberlain, whilst his newly-appointed colleague acted as younger chamberlain. The elder chamberlain was held responsible for the production before the assembly of a balance-sheet of the moneys received and expended.

The chamberlains' accounts are of much greater general interest and value than those of the mayor. It is particularly unfortunate that so very few of the earlier ones have come down to our times. There are only thirteen of these separate accounts, as originally presented to the mayor, now extant, viz., those for the years 1676, 1680, 1688, 1692, 1693, 1698, 1703, 1704, 1707, 1708, 1741 1752, and 1760.

Among the annual payments that are repeated in each of these accounts are the following:—£16 13s. 4d. for the horse race plate; 2s. per week for the lazerman, with a load of wood and apparel; a coat for the pinner, about 14s.; the salaries of the recorder

(£4 4s.), the town council (£2 2s.), and the town clerk (£8); part wage of the upper sexton of All Saints (£1 6s. 8d.), the hall keeper (£3), the herdsman (£2), the master of the bridewell (£2), and the conduit man (£3).

The gifts that occur regularly in these accounts are:—Mr. Burton's gift to the aldermen, £1; Mrs. Elkington's gift to the town clerk, 10s.; Mr. Mercer's gift to the master of the free school, £2 10s.; Mr. Alderman Freeman's gift to the poor of £15 in clothes and £2 12s. in bread; Mr. Alderman Langham's gift to the poor of £35 (St. Thomas' Hospital); Mr. Acham's gift in bread, £8; Alderman Wade's gift for a sermon, £2; Mr. Neal's gift of 2d. a week to 26 widows, £5 12s. 8d.; and the corporation gift of a minimum of £29 (but usually £34) to the poor on St. Thomas' day.

We have selected the accounts of 1693, as a good representative year of the full details supplied by the chamberlain, for an extended transcript:—

THE RENTALL OF ALL THE LANDS AND RENTS belonging to the Corporation of Northampton in the charge of Mr. John Whithome Chamberlain of the same Towne for one year from Michl's 1693.

Mr. Samuel Clifford Maior.

(*Checker Ward*)	£.	s.	d.
Of Samuel Walker out of his house, Mr. Neales gift	0	8	4
Of Mr. Lee Towne Clerke for one shop under the Towne hall	0	16	0
Of John Caporne for the other shop	0	14	0
The Annuity out of the Swan Inn, Mr. Neales gift to the widows weekly	5	12	8
Of Thomas Marryett for his house upon the Bakers hill	10	10	0
Of John Beckett for the next house adjoining to the great Conduit ...	7	0	0
	£25	1	0

East Warde	£.	s.	d.
Of Samuel Scriven for Wooll Hall now Mr. Hall	5	0	0
Of Thomas Boddington for the Tenements and ground at St. Gyles Church Yard, Mr. Hopkins gift	2	10	0
Of Edward Boddington for the Tenements and Grounds in St. Gyles streete Alderman Freemans gift in bread	2	5	0
	£9	15	0

South Ward.	£.	s.	d.
Of William Tates Esqr for St. Leonards farm and Salisburys yard Land and a Close and Composition for Carriages .	21	5	
Of Tho. Packwood for ye tenements in Bridge streetes and the Garden in Barbers End	1	6	

	£.	s.	d.
Guy Warwicke out of Barlowes house	0	13	4
Guy Warwicke for a garden plott empaled to his house and the ground whereon the Gatehouse stood	0	0	8
	£23	5	8

West Warde.

	£.	s.	d.
of the house and Orchard or Close next the West Gate, Mr. Else, Mr. Priors gift	1	10	0
Thomas Lacey for a Tenement in Colledge Lane and Close at West Bridge lying by the side of the Great River .	2	0	0

North Warde.

of Mrs. Ectons house in the Beast Markett	0	1	0
Towne balke out of ye North Gate			
Richard Dawes jun^r. for a peice of ground neere the River at the Castle Mills	0	5	0
	£3	16	0

Lands and Rents in the Country.

	£.	s.	d.
the heires and Assignes of Mr. Grant or of the Occupiers of Lands in Grimolby and other places in the County of Lincolne the yearly Rent of Eight Pounds given by Mrs. Chepsey for charitable uses in Northton And is to be payd by the Deede of Annuity in the Parish Church of All Saints on the font stone there att the feasts of All Saints and Pentecost or within 20 dayes after the s^d dayes of Payment between the howres of 9 and 11 of the Clock in the forenoone	8	0	0
Alexander Maning for Lands in Milton Parish	8	0	0
„ „ for meadow ground in Cotton Marsh	5	10	0
the heires of Mr. Acham his yearly gift to be distributed in bread to the poore of Northampton	8	0	0
Edward Kent Tho. Wilby Wm Massey and Edwd Smyth the yearly Annuity of Mrs. Chipsey out of lands in Pisford	0	12	9
the Bayliffs of Northampton for the Commission of Gaole Delivery	1	0	0
	£31	2	9

Lands and Rents belonging to the Mannor of Gobions.

	£.	s.	d.
Thomas Fisher for the Moyety of Six Yard Lands in the fields of Northton	36	0	0
William Jeoffrey for the other moyety of the Six Yard Lands ...	36	0	0
Mr. Robert Adys for the farme homstead and Grounds belonging to it	4	0	0
Xpofer Thompson for four Lands whereon is the Brick Kiln and Wall Bank	2	0	0
the Assignes of Richard Lee for the house and backside adjoyning to the farme yard	1	6	8

	£.	s.	d.
Of Mr. Richard Ebrall for the Bailiffs hooke	1	15	0
Of Mr. Watson's heire for pte of the Butchers Shambles	1	0	0
Of Jonas Watts for the New Pastures and Houses	20	0	0
Of John Knight for the 2 litle Closes adjoyning to St. Gyles Churchyard	2	0	0
	£104	1	8

Other Receipts by this Accompt.	£.	s.	d.
Rec[d] of John Smith and Thomas Judkins for the Bull	2	9	0
Rec[d] of Mr. Ives as a fyne refusing to serve Mayor being Elected ...	10	0	0
Of Mr. Wallis for the like	10	0	0
Of Mr. Else for the like	10	0	0
Of Mr. Styles the like	10	0	0
Of Mr. Whiston setling 8[li] for a Debt	2	0	0
Of Mr. Richard Saunders	10	0	0
Of Mr. Richard Clifford	10	0	0
Of Mr. Edwd. Ivory	10	0	0
Rec[d] of the Commons			
for 201 horses at 6s. per horse	60	6	0
for 11 horses at 5s. per horse	2	15	0
for 3 horses at 4s. 6d. „	0	13	6
for 11 horses at 4s. „	2	4	0
for 4 horses at 3s. 6d. „	0	14	0
for 2 horses at 3s. „	0	6	0
for 3 horses at 2s. 6d. „	0	7	6
for 4 horses at 2s. „	0	8	0
for 2 horses at 1s. „	0	2	0
for 130 cows at 5s. per cow	32	10	0
for 4 cows at 4s. „	0	16	0
for 2 cows at 3s. „	0	6	0
for 4 cows at 2s. „	0	8	0
for 2 cows at 1s. 6d. „	0	3	0
for 1 cow at 1s. „	0	1	0

Certaine Paym[ts] by this Accompt.	£.	s.	d.
To the Lazerman 2s. per weeke	5	4	0
One Load of Wood 11s. and a Great Coate	1	7	1
The Pynners Coate about 14s....	0	17	[illegible]
Old Bates 1s. per weeke	2	12	[illegible]
Old Mr. Judkins 3s. per weeke	7	16	[illegible]
The heard's wages	2	0	[illegible]
To John Pendleton the hall keeper	2	0	
The Sextons wages	1	6	
The Recordors Salary 4 Guineys	4	0	
The Towne Counsell 2 Guineys	2	4	
The Rentall and perfecting this booke	0	13	
The Plate for the horse race	16	13	

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. Tate for Balmesholme	10	0	0
the Poore att St. Thomas day 29ll	34	0	0
·. Barton's gift to the Aldermen	1	0	0
ıe Master of Bridewells wages	2	0	[illegible]
he Interest of cll to Mrs. Goldsmyth	5	0	0
:lasons Interest of 40ll to the children	2	0	0
\lderman Wade's gift for a Sermon	2	0	0
Mr. Ball's gift Interest of 50ll Clothing and widde	2	10	6
Mr. Acham's gift in bread 8ll			
Mr. King the Ministers house Rent	3	0	0
Mr. Elkingtons gift to the Towne Clerke	0	10	0
Mr. Mercers gift to the Freeschoole Mr.	2	10	0
To Richd. Bland looking to and repairing ye Conduits	3	0	0
The Towne Clerks Salary	8	0	0
To Robert Moore mending ye River bracks	2	10	0
Alderman Freemans gift in Clothes 15ll			
Mr. Neall'e gift out of the Swan Inn to the 26 widows 2s. a piece by the weeke	5	12	8
Alderman Freemans gift in bread weekly	2	12	0
Alderman Langhams gift to ye poore	35	0	0
	£159	19	0

Nov. 1	Payd Peedle for removing the stocks	0	2	0
	Given the Ringers at the Kings returne	0	[illegible]	0
	And to the Bellmen making the fire	0	4	0
	Payd Peedle looking after the horses 6 weeks	1	10	[illegible]
	Payd Knott for mending the hospitall windowes	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
9 Dec.	Pd Wm. Clark a Tax to Hardingstone for Balmesholme... ...	0	13	6
	And to Mr. John Clarke a chiefe Rent	0	5	10
	Pd Wm Oldam and John Twigden a Tax for Commons	1	2	6
16 Dec.	Pd Alex. Manning a Tax for Milton Lands	0	12	0
	Pd Wm Jeoffrey and Tho. Fisher 2d and 3d quarterly tax... ...	5	0	0
	And for a Levy to highways	0	16	8
21 Dec.	Pd John Saunders a Tax in the East Ward	0	12	0
	Pd for carrying Wood into the Hall	0	0	4
23 Dec.	Pd Thos Sheppard a Tax for Commons in West Ward	0	12	0
	Pd Oakley for emptying the Soyle Tub in ye Gaole	1	0	0
	Pd for Wintring the Bull	1	6	8
	Pd for Ale at the Towne Hall	0	1	6
	Given to Sr Tho. Samwells man bringing ye corne	0	2	[illegible]
	Pd Mrs. Eliz. Rands Interest of 60ll	3	0	0
	Pd Mrs. Warner Interest of 70ll per anum	3	10	[illegible]
26 Jan.	Pd Mr. Breton a Fee per Order	0	10	0
	Pd Peedle for driving the Commons...	0	1	0

		£	s.	d.
13 March	Pd Wm Clark of Hardingston a Tax for Balmes Holme	0	13	6
	Pd George Bott for cleaning ye Highway	0	1	0
	Pd for Ale at Towne Hall	0	1	0
	Pd Mr. Bayley for Ale at the Kings returne	0	16	4
	Pd Mr. Moore and Bartle Higgons Tax for Commons	1	2	0
	Pd Mr. Waforne for a Bull	3	1	0
	Pd Cox & Twigden a Tax in the East Ward	1	4	6
	Pd Wm Wallis a Tax in the West Ward	0	10	0
	Pd Thomas Ringrose for Timber and Carpenters work about the Bridge att Nun Mill Balmesholme the Hospitall Cow Meadow Gate and other work as by Bill	5	17	0
	Payd at St Thomas Alderman Freeman's gift			
	Pd the 6 widdows 2s. 6d a piece	0	15	0
	Pd Mr. King for the Sermon	0	15	0
	Pd for shoes for the 6 poore	[illegible]	15	0
	Pd for 6 shifts	[illegible]	0	0
	Pd for 18 yards of black cloth 7s. per yd and for Triming	8	0	0
	Pd Mr. Archer the Schoolmaster	1	10	0
	Pd for making two gownes	0	15	0
	Pd for 6 paire of stocking	0	9	0
Feb.	Pd Mr. Lee for 2 Orders for Writings	2	0	0
June	Pd Mr. Reading by Order	2	0	0
	Pd Mr. John Fowler per Order upon the account of Mr. Wards Close to the Hospitall	6	0	0
Sept.	Pd Mr Selby part of Chasons childrens money by order	10	0	0
	Pd Tho. West by Order for Bucketts	1	14	0
	Pd Mr. Clendon by Order part of Evans money	3	0	0
Oct.	Pd Mr. Plowman by Order his Bill in Evans cause...	17	12	0
	Pd Mr. Lee by Order for Business att the Assizes about the Riott and the Table of the Benefactors by the Fire	3	6	0
	Pd Mr Clark by Order due at the foot of his Account by discounting the Swan rent	16	7	5
9 April	Pd Mr. Vinter a Tax for the church of Hardingston	0	2	[illegible]
	Pd Mr. Hancock a Constable's Levy...	0	3	1[illegible]
	Pd Mr. Clark a Levy for the Poore	0	4	[illegible]
	Pd Mr. Boddington for Morter and Sand to mend the Bridge Wall at Balmes Holme dore	0	3	[illegible]
	Pd Peedle for watching horses at West Bridge...	0	1	[illegible]
	Pd for carrying a load of Wood at Hospitall	0	0	[illegible]
	Given the Miller of Nuns Mill for drawing the water to mend the Bridges	0	0	[illegible]
	Given the Cryer for crying the Commons and attending the Branding	0	2	
	Given Peedle and Woodward helping	0	2	
	Given Tho. Ringrose and Sam Welford helping	0	2	
	Given Mr. Lee for Writing	0	2	

	£.	s.	d.
Given to Robt Moore helping...	0	2	0
Payd Mr. Barnes for new Lead Weights to weigh the Bread...	[illegible]	3	0
& for mending and cleaning the Mace	0	3	0
Pd Mr. King his dues for the Commons	0	15	0
Pd a Messenger to Tiffield Woods	0	0	9
Pd for Glasing the house at Dearne Gate	1	0	[illegible]
Pd for a Haspe and Ironworke for Midsomer Meadow ...	0	1	2
Pd the Mold Catcher	0	10	0
Pd Heny Cawcott for hedging in Midsomer Meadow 106 pole at 1½d. per pole	0	13	3
And for halfe a dayes worke in the Cow Meadow	0	0	8
Allowed the workmen drincke	0	2	[illegible]
Pd for worke done in Midsomer Meadow and the rest of the meadows hedging and dyking by Rich. Mason 8 dayes and halfe	0	9	11
To John Stone 8 dayes and halfe	0	9	11
To John Whaley 7 dayes and halfe	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
To Francis Eggleston 5 dayes	0	5	10
To Wm Garner 5 dayes and halfe	0	6	5
To Wm Warwicke 8 dayes and halfe	0	9	11
To Edward Whurlidge 1 daye and halfe	0	1	9
Pd Joseph Tims 21 dayes	1	5	1
Pd Wm Maddock 16 dayes and halfe	0	19	3
To Wm Arkwright 7 dayes and halfe	0	8	[illegible]
Pd for the use of 3 Wheelebarrows	[illegible]	2	6
Pd for carriage of the rayles at West bridge	0	0	6
Pd a man from Milton 2 dayes dyking	0	2	6
Pd John Knott for the branding dynner...	1	10	0
Pd for beere for the Labs	0	5	0
Pd Wm Arkwright 2 dayes digging stone	0	2	0
And 4 weeks looking after the cattell	0	10	0
Pd Wm Wickens for 7 Load of Wood to fence Midsomer Meadow	5	0	0
Pd to John Stone for 230 setts for stakes	0	11	0
Pd Wm Kingston for a load of blackthornes	0	13	0
& for poles for Westbridge Arch...	0	4	6
Given at Sr Just Ishams to ye Groome	0	6	0
Pd Mr. Moore at Fleete for Ale for Labs	0	7	6
Pd 4 of Houghton Lab^s mending Rushmill way when the teames came	0	3	4
Pd Wm Garner for weeding the Quick and soyling the trees with dung	0	4	0
And filling stone cart one day	0	1	0
Pd Spencer one day filling stone cart	0	1	0
Pd Madock 3 dayes and halfe digging stone	0	3	6
Pd Tyms 10 dayes digging gravel and dyking	0	10	0
Pd John Stone 9 days at the same	0	9	0

		£.	s.	d.
	Pd Wm Farey 1 day stone cart	0	1	0
	Pd Fr Eagle the same	0	1	0
	Pd Wm Warwick 6 dayes digging and dyking.. ...	0	6	0
	Pd Nich. Mason 4 dayes and halfe at same	0	4	6
	Pd Richd Chambers for stone to mend the Bridge wall and repayre the highways	0	6	0
	Given to the 13 Teames from Houghton to mend the highways by order	0	6	6
	Pd to Warwick Tyms mending the way at West bridge	0	2	0
2 June	Pd Wm Clarke Tax for Baimes holme	0	13	6
	& for Chipseys Meadow	0	1	0
20 June	Pd the Tax for the Towne Farme 2 quarters	5	0	0
	And for Trofee money	0	8	0
	Pd for making Peedles coate to Aub Charles .. .	0	3	6
21 June	Pd Mr. Moore and Higgons the 2° quarterly payment	1	2	6
	Pd Jos Proctor for Iron worke as by Bill .	0	19	0
29 June	Pd Cox and Twigden Tax in the East Ward ..	1	4	6
	Pd Wm Wallis Tax in the West Ward	0	10	0
	Pd Cawcott one day repayring Midsomer hedge . ..	0	1	0
	Pd Thomas Dunckley for wood for the hall ..	0	12	0
	Pd. Alix. Manning a Tax for his land . ..	0	12	0
6 Aug.	Pd at George for Wyne by Bill	4	5	6
6 Sept.	Pd Wm Clarke a Tax the last payment	0	13	6
	Given at Mr Montagues to the Servants .. .	0	8	0
	Given at the Earl of Northtons	3	10	0
	Pd Mr Else a Tax for Westbridge Close	0	6	0
	Pd Jonas Watts for Taxes and Repayres by Bill	6	14	4
13 Sept.	Pd the Composition money at Storbridge faire for 2 years and spent 1s.	1	1	0
26 Sept.	For Moore and Higgons the Tax in the South Ward	1	2	0
	Pd Wm Wallis and Brownswood Tax in the West ...	0	10	0
	Pd John Law for plastering the dore at the Leads of the Hall	0	6	3
27 Sept.	Pd Cox and Twigden for the Tax of the meadows and new pastures in East Ward	1	4	6
	Pd at George with Mr Mayor meeting a gentleman	0	2	6
	Pd Taxes for the Brick Kilne to Thompson	0	5	6
	Pd John Battman for mending the hall windows and mending the Leads	0	13	6
	Pd for tymber to mend Nun Mill bridge 3 peices each 15 foot long	0	15	0
	Spent at severall tymes upon the Town Ten^{ts} at receipt of their Rents and given y° Serjeants for Summons	0	15	0
	Payd John Bradshaw 60 fagotts for the Bonefire	0	7	6
	Pd James Weston for 1 days work at St. Thomas Hospitall and pins	1	10	0
	Pd for Slatt and lyme to repayer the Hospitall	0	3	0
	Pd Jo. Tyms for conveying gravel into Balmes holme to mend the way in the Holme	0	0	

	£.	s.	d.
Pd James Lummas for worke at Hospital and at Bridges and for pibles	0	19	8
Pd Tho. Hoboy for worke at John Becketts house...	0	2	11
Pd Mr. John Lucas as by his Bill...	1	3	0
Pd for a Haspe and staple for the Hall dore	0	1	0
Pd for Gownes for S^t. John Langhams poore, addition to this present yeare	4	0	0
Pd Richard Bland for Lead and mending the litle Conduit as by Bill	1	10	10
Pd for paving near the Towne hall	0	1	6
Pd Henry Cooper for 2 distresses and 2 Sumons	0	5	4
Pd for Pipes and Candles for the Hall	0	15	3
Pd the accustomed Fee gathering the Rentall	0	6	8
Pd Mr. Priors gift to the Chamberlaine	0	1	0
Pd Mr. Neales gift to the Chamberlaine	0	5	0
Pd Mr. Moore his Interest of c^li a year...	3	0	0
Pd Edward Hodgkins his Bill for worke done at the Cow Meadow Wall and backside Westons	0	19	8
Received short the 72^d fines by a pistole for a Guiney and a french 2s. 6d.	0	4	6
The Rec^ts of this accompt are Three Hundred Seventy and Three Pounds Thirteene Shillings and One Penny	373	13	1
The Paym^ts are Three Hundred Forty Two Pounds Nineteene Shillings and Four Pence And the Docketts are Eighteene Pounds and Four Shillings and spent on the Auditors Two Shillings and Sixpence	342	19	4

The Rec^ts being the greater sum there remaynes due to the Towne

The Northampton riot of 1693 referred to in these accounts is named in Hall's MS. It is thus entered :—"A Riot, Wheat being 7s. a Bushell, to stop Tranting one Buckby's Waggon of Meal was seiz'd, some of the Rioters were whip'd but very gently at the Sessions, but Buckby the Trantor hanged himself Aug^st. 2d." Trantor was a later term for a "forestaller," so strongly condemned by the old customary of Northampton, in the first volume of this work, as "an oppressor of the poor and a public enemy of the whole country," particularly if he dealt in corn and tried unnaturally to raise its price.

Amongst the corporation's books are two volumes of chamberlain's accounts. The first of these contains the chamberlain's receipts and expenditure from 1690-1 to 1749-50, with two or three omissions. Then there is a gap of some fifteen years, when the accounts are resumed in another volume, which begins in 1764-5, and closes with 1825-6.

Various interesting details taken from these accounts appear throughout this volume under their respective heads. Among the general receipts of a special character not admitting of classification the following seem noteworthy:—

		£.	s.	d.
1690-1	Rec[d] of Mr. George Hayes for a old Bells from y[e] Castle	3	4	10
1704	Rec[d] of Mrs. Leforre for her booth at ye new wells ..	2	3	0
1785-6	For old materials as valued at the Farm House in Cotton End after the Fire there	8	10	0

No small amount of the town's money went in wine. The chamberlain's accounts for 1690-1 show that £13 5s. 1d was spent over wine during that year at the entertainment of judges and for rejoicings at thanksgivings. For several years the wine for the judges at the two assizes averaged about £5.

In 1712, when there were no public rejoicings, the wine bill came to £10 16s. 0d. That same year 30s. was spent in a dozen of wine for the Bishop of Chester when he visited the town.

In 1780 expenses begin to be entered about wine for "the mayor and aldermen's club." In 1786 this club spent £1 6s. 3d., in 1786 £1 11s 6d., and in 1791 £1 19s. 5d.

Subsequently the feasting expenses became much more serious. In 1812 the chamberlain's accounts include £5 5s. for the court of aldermen when they met at the Rose and Crown in February, £5 5s. at the Peacock in May, £5 5s. at the Rose and Crown in August, as well as £5 13s. 8d. for dinners in October "for the Committee of Survey." In the same year £18 2s. 10d. was spent at the dinner in passing the chamberlain's accounts, and £7 8s. 9d. for supper for the aldermen after attending the judges.

In 1818 the chamberlain's accounts are credited with £21 19s. 8d. for dinners on passing the accounts, £15 18s. 3d. being two-thirds of the feasting on branding day, £20 1s. 2d. for dinners and wine on St. Thomas' day, and £6 5s. 0d. for suppers for the aldermen when attending the judges at the Lent and summer assizes.

The following interesting entry occurs in the minutes of the court of aldermen, October 7th, 1783:—

"The said Mr. Lacy the present Chamberlain having voluntary proposed to attend as often as he conveniently can in his Uniform the Mayor to church and upon other public occasions, Ordered that a respectable silver Key in the Gothic Taste double Gilt be forthwith provided by the present Mayor at the Corporation's expense to be worn by the Chamberlain for the time being with a blew Silk Ribbon at all times attending the Mayor"

At the same court it was ordered that, in order to provide

proper accommodation for the chamberlain in All Saints' church, arms be put up near the bailiff's seat, in the upper bailiff's pew, for the use of the chamberlain for the time being.

This handsome silver-gilt key, with broad blue silk band attached, passed into private hands on the passing of the Corporation Reform Act. Towards the close of 1895 it was restored to the corporation through the town clerk. On Feb. 6th, 1896, this key, with other older corporation insignia, was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A., where it attracted some attention, as no other corporate town has such an emblem in use.

On one side of the key is the inscription "John Lacy, Chamberlain of the Corp° of Northampton," and on the other "J. Sutton, Esq'. Mayor. 1783."

A list of chamberlains from 1690 downwards is given in the appendix.

The Town Clerk.

The town clerk or common clerk was, from the earliest days, an invariable adjunct of municipal life. Sometimes, as at one period at Northampton, this official was considered and termed the mayor's clerk, but this was, after all, a distinction without a difference, for such an official would only be clerk to the mayor in his municipal capacity and in the business that he transacted for the good of the town.

The town clerk was usually, though not of necessity, a lawyer, but it was absolutely essential that he should be a good and ready scrivener. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries almost every town of any importance required the writing out afresh and the bringing up to date of its customary, or record of local laws and customs. The transcribing of the oft-changing bye-laws of the trading fraternities and the drawing up of recognizances, especially those for the alehouses, would give him constant employment. Considerable occupation of a like character would also be provided in the enrolling of deeds, leases, and agreements, not only in connection with the common property of the town, but as clerk of the hustings or local court of record, a post almost invariably filled by the town clerk.

As the chief local adviser of a constant succession of mayors, the town clerk, whose appointment was practically for life, held a position of considerable importance, and was the embodiment of a

continuous stream of tradition amid the eddies of an ever-changing throng of annual officials

The town clerk had but seldom any fixed salary, or, if there was one, it was almost of nominal value; his emoluments were derived from legal fees in connection with various courts, from customary fees for recognizances, and from customary fees in connection with the enrolling of freemen and apprentices. At Northampton, the latter fees were considerable, amounting for the last century and a-half of the old corporation to an average per head of 17s.

At Northampton, the election of the town clerk varied at different periods, but mainly rested with the mayor and aldermen. It became practically a life appointment right through, although latterly the aldermen were supposed to elect every year.

One of the witnesses to a charter in the British Museum of the year 1321, is William de Burgo, town clerk of Northampton. From private deeds among the town muniments, we find that John Towcester was town clerk in 1460; he is again mentioned in 1469. John Launden occupied the same position in 1471. The name of John Prentes also appears as town clerk as a witness to a deed of 1512 The first town clerk, however, whose name occurs in the records of the assembly is John Saxby, who held that position throughout the reign of Edward VI. and Philip and Mary, and in the earlier part of the long reign of Elizabeth. He always signs, or is referred to, as "common clerk," that is clerk to the community. His signature, too like that of modern peers, always lacks the Christian name, being simply Saxby. We have never seen this custom named anywhere, but have noticed this use of the surname only as characterising the signatures of the clerk of the peace of seven different counties in Elizabethan and early Stuart times, and in the case of the town clerks of four different boroughs, so we suppose it was, at that time a universal habit. The earlier records of the quarter sessions of the County of Northampton were not signed by the clerk of the peace. But from 1738 to the present time the records have invariably been signed by the clerk of the peace with his surname only.

The first entry that we have found pertaining to this office, otherwise than the mention of the name is under the order of assembly of October 14th, 1578, when it was agreed, "That Thomas Sanbrooke nowe Mr. Maior's Clerke shall from hensefourthe duringe his Naturall lyffe have possesse and enjoy the

saide office of Clerkeshippe he doinge and useinge hymselfe decentlie and orderlye therin towards Mr Maior for the Tyme being and his Cobretherne"

It was ordered by the assemblly, in 1590, that the mayor's clerk for the time being shall not henceforth make any copy of any order set down in any of the town books for any person whatsoever, without the special license of the mayor under pain of 40s.

On October 6th, 1592, George Coldwell was elected and chosen "the Maiors Clarke or towne Clarke."

The office of town clerk was not specifically mentioned in any of the earlier charters, but in the extended charter of 1599 George Coldwell is named as the present common clerk of the town, commonly called the town clerk, and is authorised to receive and write recognizances of statute merchants. He was to retain office, subject to good conduct, till the ensuing Michaelmas, when the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses were, according to custom, yearly to elect a fit person to be common clerk or prothonotary, to write such recognizances. This customary annual election of the recognizance clerk was clearly a formal matter, as it was invariably regarded as an appendage of the town clerk's office

Up to 1603, the mayor was in the habit of providing the town clerk with "gowne clothes and wages" In that year the assembly undertook to pay the town clerk £3. 6s 8d in lieu of the wages; but, as has been remarked, his stipend was chiefly drawn from fees.

The charter of 1618 makes mention of "our beloved Tobias Coldwell" as town clerk, and makes the same provision with regard to him as recognizance clerk as did the charter of 1599. In this charter, however, the custom of the town is declared to be the nominating of a town clerk by the mayor and aldermen, and no reference is made to the bailiffs or other burgesses The orders of assembly are in his handwriting till 1654.

It was enjoined, in 1640, that all orders made at any assembly were to be entered against the next assembly, and then to be openly read by the town clerk upon pain of 5s for every omission.

In 1652, the assembly directed that the town clerk shall never at any time have any vote or voice in any matter, cause, or thing whatsoever propounded or discussed in any assembly

On the death of Toby Coldwell, in 1654, the mayor and

aldermen appointed Mr. Tempest Cooke to the office. Mr. Cooke died on August 18th, 1658, and at the court of aldermen held on August 28th, of the same year, it was agreed that Hatton Farmer, gentleman, be town clerk so long as he behave himself well in the said office, and providing that he never absent himself from the duties of his office without the license or consent of the mayor and aldermen.

On July 26th, 1660, Hatton Farmer voluntarily resigned the office of town clerk, and John Fowler, gentleman, was appointed to succeed him. His appointment was made subject to similar conditions to those of his predecessor, and he had also to pay £20 for the office to the court, which seems to be an obvious abuse.

In 1662, Henry Lee, then serjeant of the mace, was appointed town clerk, and this appointment was ratified by the charter of 1663. His salary as town clerk was settled in 1668 at £8, to be paid yearly by the chamberlain.

On January 17th, 1688-9, Henry Lee, gentleman, was, "by the unanimous consent of the wholl house," removed from his office of town clerk, and Anthony Plant, gentleman, was elected in his place. On August 5th, 1689, the assembly formally continued Anthony Plant in his office.

Henry Lee, who had been appointed one of the bailiffs by the king on September 4th, 1688, suffered much for his compliance with the wishes of James II. He was for a time ignored in every way by the town, and at last reduced to poverty. He petitioned the assembly for relief, and on November 4th, 1690, it was ordered in consequence of his great straits, "that the chamberlain pay to Mr. Henry Lee, towards the support of himself and family, 2s a week until further order, provided that he deliver up with the present Maior all writeings and papers that he hath in his hands touchinge or concerneing the said Corporation" This allowance, however, soon came to an end, for at a meeting of the court of aldermen, on December 9th, 1690, Henry Lee was re-elected town clerk, on the death of Anthony Plant.

On August 4th, 1705, it was reported to the assembly that Mr Lee was willing to surrender the town clerk's place by reason of his great age (86), and the infirmities attending it. Mr George Rowell was elected in his place, but on condition of giving a bond of £400 to Mr. Lee, pledging him to pay £25 per annum

for life to Mr. Lee, and further that the corporation pay yearly to Mr. Lee an additional sum of £10 per annum, and if it should happen that Frances, the wife of the said Henry Lee should survive him, that then the £10 be continued for her life.

At the assembly held on August 8th, 1765, it was stated that Mr. George Rowell was too aged and infirm to continue in the office of town clerk, and that the mayor and aldermen had duly elected John Jeyes, attorney-at-law, in his place. Mr. Rowell was clerk for exactly half-a-century.

The charter of 1796 provided for the annual election of the town clerk by the mayor and aldermen, and also for royal sanction to the appointment.

Mr. John Jeyes was yearly continued in the office of town clerk by vote of the court of aldermen, beginning in August, 1772, until his death in 1797. He was succeeded by his son, Theophilus Jeyes, who was still clerk when the corporation was reformed in 1835.

Town Attorney.

Before the duties of a town clerk became well defined, it was usual for English corporations to have a definitely-appointed official for their ordinary legal work, termed the town attorney. Sometimes this official was appointed for life, subject to good behaviour, and sometimes he was chosen or nominated year by year. The former was the case at Northampton.

The earliest entry we have found about a town attorney of Northampton is among the orders of assembly for 1567, when it was agreed that "the atturnay of the towne of North'ton in the Escheker called Mr. Tybalde shall have iiij^li^ a yere to be payde by the baylys off Northampton, and that the towne chamber shall pay the baylyves xx^s^ towardes the same iiij^li^ yerely." This entry implies that £3 of the salary was to be found by the bailiffs out of their own special funds, for at this time the bailiffs held certain lands in their own right and also received the various tolls.

The mayor and his co-brethren, or aldermen, on the death or resignation of Mr Tybalde, claimed to have the appointment of town attorney in their hands. Here and there, throughout the first volume of the orders of assembly, are interspersed certain acts of the court of aldermen In 1569, on February 25th, the mayor and eight of his brethren "by good deliberation and advicement did elect and chuze to be ther Attornay in all courtes within the quene's ma^ti^ hall at

Westmister or ellswear within the Realme of Engelonde, one Thomas Manninge gentilman to supplie the office aboveseide." In the just-quoted assembly order of 1567, the name of Mr. Tybalde is erased, and Thomas Manninge substituted.

In 1578 the assembly ordered "that ther shalbe chosen one Attorney generall to answere for the Towne affaires at London, and the same Attorney to have yerely paide hym for his fee 20s." This we suppose, refers to the 20s. which was the assembly's share of the attorney's annual fee of £4.

At an assembly held on January 10th, 1587-8,

It is condiscended and agreed that Mr Edmund Craddocke shalbe Attorney generall for the towne affaires, and that he shall have his ordinarie and accustomed fee paide him everie terme for every matter he shall deale and take paynes in for the towne and shall have besides yearlie half an acre of grasse in the Abbottes Meadow and commons for one horse and two beastes as freemen of the towne have, paying for the same grasse and commons as freemen of this towne usullie doe.

A new appointment had to be made in 1602, for reasons set forth in the following order —

That whereas Mr Francis Tate whoe was councell within the towne, and in regard thereof had yearlie a standing fee of fourtie shillings, forasmuche as the saide Francis Tate nowe ys removed or shortlie ys to remove into Wales, a place so farre distant from this towne that the corporation upon anie opportunie cane not have use of him as heretofore, That in consideration hereof Mr Francis Harvey gent shall be of counsell within this towne in the affaires thereof (yf yt soe shall please him) and have yearlie paide him the saide standing fee of fourtie shillings.

In August, 1660, Hatton Farmer, who had just resigned the town clerkship, was appointed town attorney by the court of aldermen, for which he was to receive the usual fee of 6s. 8d. every term.

By letters patent of February 25, 1687-8, Francis Reading was removed from the office of town attorney, and Richard Harris was appointed in his place.

On January 17th, 1688-9, Edmund Bateman, gentleman, was elected town attorney.

On April 30th, 1700, William Lee was appointed town attorney for the corporation, "to receive the fees and perquisites as others have done before him."

Lee was followed in the attorneyship by one Marriott, whose name appears in the accounts of 1717 as receiving a salary or retaining fee of £1 6s. 8d.

Soon after this the mention of a town attorney ceased, and his duties became merged in those of the town clerk.

THE SERJEANTS-AT-MACE.

There is no mention of the serjeant of the mace or of other serjeants in the various charters granted to the town, as is the case with boroughs of less importance. Indeed, when charters of the fourteenth century made special mention of these officials, it is generally by way of confirming an ancient privilege. We know that serjeants existed in London, Exeter, Norwich, Winchester, and Southampton in the last half of the thirteenth century. In all probability they formed a component part of the town officials of Northampton in the time of Henry III., but the first mention of them that we have been able to trace, is in the time of Edward II.

The number of serjeants appointed by a municipality varied to some extent according to the status and size of the town. Several towns had only one, and by far the larger number were limited to two. London had 24, Norwich 11, Cambridge 9, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Bristol 8, whilst Canterbury, Chester, Gloucester, Winchester, Oxford, and twelve others, had four.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century we know that Northampton had five serjeants, and this was probably the original number. The only town in England that had a like number was the neighbouring borough of Leicester.

All the five serjeants were termed serjeants-at-mace, but the head serjeant, who was probably appointed at the time when it became customary to carry a great mace before the mayor, was a more important functionary than his fellows, was clad in a superior livery, and was generally known as the mayor's serjeant, or serjeant to the great mace.

Of this functionary we specially treat in the succeeding subdivision, but it may be here remarked that after the town was divided into five wards—north, south, east, west, and chequer—the mayor's serjeant took special charge of the chequer, or market ward (which was by far the smallest and most central), and therein served summonses and discharged other official duties, in the same manner as his brethren did in their wards.

Looked at from another point of view, the idea with regard to these five serjeants was that the senior serjeant was specially attached to the mayor whilst the other four served the two bailiffs, as they are not infrequently described as serjeants, or serjeants of the bailiffs.

In an order of the assembly of 1412, given in the *Liber Custumarum*, they are spoken of as serjeants of the bailiffs. The special ordinance of 1391, from the same source, prohibiting exactions on the part of the serjeants, calls them the mace-bearers of the bailiffs. This title is also assigned to them in the oath of late Elizabethan date, in the Bateman copy of the Northampton customary :—

Sacramentum Sarjientium balliorum.

You shall make true attachments and true answeres give to the Courte, you shall trulye serve yo' Clients, as you be informed of them, and serve yo' M^rs (masters) in truthe, and doe noe wronge to the people, and you shall take noe pledge of ante persons, butt have them to the Maior or Bayliffes or ante of them or ante of the deputies or to the gaole, in default of pledges, and locke and kepe the prisoners in the gaole from tyme to tyme safelie to the uttermost of your power and ye shall doe all things belonging to your office to your cunnyng or knowledge So helpe you God in Christ Jesus.

The carrying of maces is a highly interesting subject, and has been admirably worked out by Mr. St. John Hope in his recent work on *Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*. Suffice it here to say that civic maces may be divided into two classes—(1) serjeants', or small maces carried by serjeants-at-mace as emblems of authority; and (2) great, or mayors' maces, borne before a mayor as a mark of dignity and of delegated royal authority.

Northampton is happy in the possession of four of the small serjeants' maces, an honour which she shares with only seven other towns. Although they are none of them of great age, they were undoubtedly made, at their respective dates, to succeed ones of older use. During the time that the mayor's serjeant acted as the officer for the chequer ward there would certainly be a fifth small mace, but this has now disappeared. These small maces were carried by the serjeants when serving a summons or undertaking any other official duty. To resist anyone presenting this emblem of authority, bearing the royal arms, would be a most serious affair; this same idea survives in painting a crown or V. R. on a constable's staff. The livery coats of the serjeants were usually supplied on the breast with a small pocket and loop, for the safe carrying of the mace.

The smallest of these (Plate I.) is only 8in. long, with a head 6½in. in circumference. It is of brass, somewhat thickly gilt. The globular head is divided by a foliated ornament into four panels, containing respectively, in high relief, the letter I, a rose, the letter R, and a

crown. The shaft is divided by an encircling band, and terminates with four elaborate projecting flanges. On the flat button at the end is a St. George's cross in a shield, with the numeral "1" cut at a later date. This mace, which is one of the smallest in the kingdom, is of the date of James I., though popularly assigned to king John. On the summit are the royal arms, with supporters, as borne by the Stuarts. Possibly it may be of the year 1608, when King James and Queen Anne made their first royal entry into Northampton, from Holdenby, and were met in solemn estate by the corporation at the north gate.

The other three maces (Plate I.), which are respectively 14¼, 13¾, and 12½ inches in length, are also all brass-gilt, and not silver-gilt, as stated in Messrs. Jewitt and Hope's work. The head of each is encircled by a low coronet of crosses and fleur-de-lis, and bears a rose, a thistle, and a harp, all crowned, and a castle, supported by two lions, for the borough arms. On the top of the head of the longest mace are the royal arms, as borne by the Stuarts, temp. Charles II., and on the other two the royal arms, as borne by George I. (Plate II.). On the button at the bases of these maces are the town arms, and the numerals 2, 3, and 4 respectively.

In 1733 Brian Alliston, the mace-bearer, caused to be drawn up, in grandiloquent language and in best court hand, a long formal document, executed by town clerk Howell in the book of orders, whereby he professes, out of the respect and esteem for the corporation of which he had been an official for forty years, to voluntarily give to the mayor and aldermen "as a free gift four brass maces of different sizes doubly gilt with gold," to be kept at the house of the mayor, and to be carried by the four serjeants along with the great mace before the mayor when he goes to church, and on all other occasions when the great mace is carried, etc., etc. The document is not worth the paper it is written on, for the small maces were no more the property of Brian Alliston than of the town scavenger or of one of the old alms women of St. Thomas's. Possibly the whole affair was a cumbersome joke of Alliston, who became so frolicsome in his old age.

The following extracts and quotations from the town records will give some further insight into the varying and varied duties of the four serjeants, their dress, and their salaries. Monday was the regular day for the meeting of the mayor's court, or petty sessions as we should now call it, and the first order of assembly that we

are able to give with reference to the serjeants, of the year 1559, refers to their preparation for the weekly court.

It is ordained that every Friday the iiij serjantes callid attornars immediatelie after they have waighted and brought Mr. Mayor to the Churche that they and every of them shall repair to the Awarde booke And then and there shall apoint and agree upon all suche matters as shall procede in the law upon the Mooday next ensuinge upon paine of every one that makithe defaulte at the time apointed to pay the first time xij^{d} the second time xx^{d} and the third time ij^{s} to the poor mans boxe.

Each of the four serjeants, as has been already stated, was assigned to one of the four outer wards of the town—north, south, east, and west—whilst the mayor's serjeant had special duties in the chequer or market ward In 1586 it was ordered that the serjeant of each quarter, together with the constable, was to be at the command of the alderman of the quarter for all reasonable service. At the same time the serjeants were ordered to call on their respective aldermen three times every week to know their pleasure

On April 19th, 1594, it was agreed

That the Serjeantes to the Bayliffe for the tyme being shall from henceforthe yearlie become bounde with sufficient sureties severallie by good and sufficient obligations to the saide bailiffes for the tyme being for the keeping of the prisons safe and sure within the gaole without escape of them or ane of them.

The assembly agreed in 1636

That there shall be letters of Attorney made to the foure Serjeantes to levie all monyes due to the Corporation by several schedules out of the Exchequer from tyme to tyme as well nowe as hereafter upon ane occasion.

The court of aldermen claimed the right to appoint the serjeants. In 1655 John Silsby, one of the four serjeants, was put in prison upon an execution at the suit of alderman Gifford The alderman considered that he thereby forfeited his office, and they chose John Crick in his place

In April, 1695, the minutes of the aldermen's court record

That Henry Dover one of the Serjeants att the Mace being verry ancient and infirme be placed in the almeshouse in the roume of Widdow late dead. And that he doe resigne up his place as a serjeant. And att the same tyme Valentine Stevenson was Elected Serjeant att the Mace to make up the number of the 4 serjeants, And then ordered that the serjeants be allowed cloth to make them Gowns, their Gownes being very old torne and rusty; And that the Gowne of every Serjeant that dyes or resigns up his place or otherwise shall leave his place, shall be given to the serjeant that shall succeed him in his place.

In July, 1695, William Wallis and Brian Alliston were sworne

before the mayor and aldermen as serjeants-at-mace in the room of John Caporne and John Stamford then displaced

The court of aldermen decided in 1702, in order the better to maintain the cleanliness of the streets, that the four serjeants should present unto the mayor any nuisance of logs, stones, rubbish, dirt or dung laid in the streets, with the name of the offender, and that for every such presentment the serjeants should receive 4d

New gowns were provided for the serjeants in 1705.

As an instance of their perquisites, it may be mentioned that on St Thomas' day, 1707, each of the serjeants, in addition to ale, received 1s 6d.

The mace-bearer and the four serjeants-at-mace were new clothed in 1728 at the expense of the corporation, but had to give a written undertaking to the mayor to return the clothes if they should resign or be turned out of office within three years.

In 1735 one of the serjeants was dismissed "for his ill-manners in speaking and uttering contemptibles disrespectfull words of his Masters the Mayor and Aldermen," and in the following year another serjeant was dismissed for absenting himself from the town for two months

In 1759 we first read of the serjeants superintending the weighing of butter at the market, for which they received a special fee. Like entries in subsequent years are frequent.

The chamberlain's accounts for 1768 show that each of the four serjeants received a salary of 30s.

The court of aldermen in 1771 ordered new coats and hats for the four serjeants, and directed that they should wear no others when employed upon comporation business

In 1772 a guinea was paid for four hats for the four serjeants, and at the same time 10s. 6d. was paid for "Dying 5 Serj^ts Gowns" In 1777 five hats were provided for the four serjeants and crier "the latter being laced with Gold," at a charge of £2 2s. Four hats were again purchased for the four serjeants for a guinea in 1784. "Cloth and materials" the same year for the same four officials was charged £7 15s. 6d When the new charter arrived in 1796, the serjeants' hats must have been of a better quality, for they then cost £2 8s., whilst the rest of their livery, coats and trimming, cost £7 13s. 3d. They do not seem to have had new gowns at that date. New gowns for the four sergeants, the mace-bearer and the two beadles cost, in 1800, £29 10s. 8d.

In 1806 the four sergeants received six guineas for attending the mayor to church, etc., "in lieu of Beer."

The four hats in 1808 cost £3 12s., whilst "cloth and material for clothing the serjeants at Mace" amounted to £18 9s. 7d. The hats soon again rose much in value, and we suppose in stateliness. A single hat for a new serjeant in 1809 was 19s. 6d., whilst four new ones in 1811 cost £6 8d.

In 1816 the serjeants were paid £7 17s. in lieu of the small tolls; and in 1833 we find that they were each paid a salary of six guineas.

The Mayor's Serjeant and the Great Mace.

The chief sergeant of the town, usually termed the mayor's serjeant, and sometimes the serjeant of the mace, or serjeant to the great mace, was appointed for life, during his good behaviour, by the court of aldermen. Occasionally, however, in earlier days, the assembly made this appointment, though perhaps this may have only been a confirming of the previous act of the aldermen.

The mayor and aldermen, in April, 1567, chose James Thackeray to be mayor's serjeant. He was promoted to this office from one of the ordinary serjeantships which he had obtained in 1565.

The following form of oath, in a late Elizabethan hand, is taken from the Bateman copy of the Northampton customary:—

The Maiors Serjeants Oathe

Thou shall true Sumons and true Attachments make, as thou art bydde by the Maior, Thou shalt truly assyze measures and wsightes, and truly ensele them, Thou shall truly make the leveyes of the estreates that shall be assigned to ther and thy M^rs (masters), and comon profitt doe, And thou shalt doe no man wrunge to thy power, So helpe thee God.

In 1585, it was resolved that the mayor's serjeant should summon the two aldermen, the two bailiffs, and the two of the forty-eight, who had to accompany the mayor to the corn market from time to time.

At an assembly held on September 26th, 1589, John Glover, yeoman, was appointed to the office of mayor's serjeant during his good behaviour.

In the following October, it was agreed that the four serjeants should always pay to the mayor's serjeant, at the making of the panel, all such fees as were due to him for the summoning of jurors between party and party, namely, every townsman 2d., and every foreigner 4d.

From a complaint made by the mayor in 1603, it appears that up to that date the chief magistrate was held responsible for providing the mayor's serjeant with gown, clothes, and wages. The assembly then ordered the mayor should be relieved of this liability, and that the chamber should also pay four pounds annually to the mayor's serjeant.

An order of the assembly of February 1st, 1608, is of particular interest with regard to the history of the great mace. It was then resolved that:—

Wheareas Edward Smith, now serjeant to the mace of the mayor did against his Maties late coming to the Corporation travaile to London aboute the Repaire of his mace in regard it was somewhat ruinous, which saide mace could not be well amended soe as it was broken in pieces and the same being broken in pieces did in the whole amount in value to the sume of iiij^li iij^s ix^d And thereupon a new mace was made at the towne charge and whereas at this assemblie the said Edward Smith hath bene a petitioner to have allowance for the old mace broken as aforesaid be saveing that the old mace cost him Tenn poundes which upon the sale thereof did not amount above the value of iiij^li iij^s ix^d aforesaid And further for his charges in travailing about the repaire of the said mace. It is ordered that the said Edward Smith shall have paid him out of the towne Chamber Sixe poundes thirteen shillinges and foure pence by the Chamberlain of the said towne in his full satisfaction for the old mace and his charges in travailing about the repaire of the said mace

In 1647 we find incidental mention of Simon Einsworthe as mace-bearer, but his appointment may have been at an earlier date than this He was succeeded in 1652 by John Cole.

It was agreed in 1652 that the mayor's serjeant should not have any vote or voice in any matter, cause, or thing whatsoever propounded or discussed in any assembly.

On August 28, 1658, the court of aldermen appointed

Henry Lee gentleman mayor's sarjeant to the greate Mace or Macebearer so long as he shall behave himselfe well in the same office and soe as the saide Mr Lee doe utterly forsake the selling of Beare or Ale at all times from the 16th day of September next ensuinge.

Mr Henry Lee, whose experiences as town clerk have already been recorded, gave up his serjeantship in 1668, having for six years fulfilled the double duties of town clerk and mace-bearer. He was succeeded by his son, Henry Lee, jun.

Matthew Barnes was appointed to the office by the aldermen in September, 1689. The following entry in reference to his salary appears in the minutes of the court of aldermen for 1694:—

That Mr. Mathew Barnes the Macebearer to the Mayor of the Towne shall yearly receive of the Chamberlains of the Corporation the sum of Three Pounds to be payd him att Lady Day and Michaelmas for his wayting and attending upon the Mayor and Aldermen

In connection with this salary it should be remembered that there were various perquisites and occasional fees attached to the office of mayor's serjeant, it was valued at the time of Barnes' appointment at about twelve guineas. Matthew Barnes got too infirm for the due fulfilment of his duties within a year or so of his appointment, but was allowed to do the work by deputy, one Judkins being nominated for the purpose at a salary of 3s a week.

On February 5th, 1702, the aldermen appointed Mr. Nicholas King to be mayor's serjeant, or mace bearer, in the place of Mr. Matthew Barnes, lately deceased At the same it was ordered that Mrs Barnes should have the next vacant place in the hospital In 1706, a new gown was ordered to be provided for Mr. King, the mace bearer.

There was "a full and friendly debate" between the mayor and aldermen, in 1712, in relation to the choice of a successor to Mr. King, who had recently died. Eventually, William Barcole, barber, was elected in Mr. King's place, upon condition that Nicholas Stratford, cordwainer (over and besides his share of the tolls on Wood hill) shall receive £4 per annum from the town chamberlain as mace bearer's salary, and that William Barcole further pay to Nicholas Stratford £3 per annum out of the fees and perquisites of his office. The records do not state why the new mace bearer was to be thus heavily fined in favour of Nicholas.

In 1717 four pounds was paid for "new clouthing" for the mace-bearer.

The curious agreement as to the £7 payable from the mace-bearers due to Nicholas Stratford underwent a change in 1718, for in that year the mayor and aldermen decided that the salary of it should go direct to their mace-bearer, William Barcole, and that the whole of the £7 should be paid to Nicholas by the town chamberlain for the time being.

Gowns for the mace-bearer and one of the serjeants cost, in 1722, £7 2s. 6d.

In 1729 the mace-bearer, in common with the four serjeants-at-mace, were new clothed at the expense of the corporation, each of

them being required to give notes to the mayor to return the same if they should resign or be turned out of office within the space of three years. The cloth and trimmings for the five gowns cost £14 15s 0d.

The court of aldermen, on April 21st, 1721, elected Nicholas Stratford as mayor's serjeant or mace-bearer, in the room of William Barcole, deceased. It was ordered that he receive the whole of the salary, profits, and perquisites of the mace-bearer's office without any deduction, and that his pension of £7 and his share of the tolls of Wood hill should cease.

In 1772, on June 13th, John Moore, the elder, was elected mace-bearer, in place of Nicholas Stratford, deceased; and at the same time John Moore was displaced and removed from the number of the eight and forty burgesses.

On March 30th, 1725, Brian Alliston, one of the ordinary serjeants-at-mace, was promoted by the aldermen to the office of mace-bearer, in the room of John Moore, deceased, and the oath of office duly administered.

Brian Alliston, who had for some time been unable, "by reason of his lameness and other infirmities attending old age," to attend to the duties of his office, resigned on August 7th, 1735. He was succeeded by Walter Cockerell, the oldest of the four serjeants-at-mace upon condition of Walter allowing Brian Alliston a pension of £8 out of the salary, profits, and perquisites of the office for the term of his natural life, "in consideration of his long and faithful services to the corporation." At the next meeting of the aldermen's court a new mace-bearer's gown was ordered for Mr. Cockerell, and the chamberlain's accounts show that it cost £3

Brian Alliston, on his resignation of the office of mayor's serjeant or mace-bearer, was elected by the aldermen as one of the forty-eight. His newly-found leisure seems to have been too much for the old man. The court of aldermen, on October 7th, 1736, ordered that

Brian Alliston for his many and frequent Misbehaviours and disorderly Practices time after time, and particularly for his Drunkenness and Misbehaviour at the Mayor's Feast at Michaelmas day last and on the day following in revelling about the Streets of this Town when he was drunk, with one of the Bailiffs Gowns upon his Back and denying and ridiculing the Corporation as well as Exposing himself, be removed and displaced from his office of an Eight and forty man or Burgess of this Corporation, and he is hereby removed and displaced accordingly.

At the court held on June 29th, 1742, Thomas Stuart, the senior serjeant-at-mace, was promoted to the office of mace-bearer in the room of Walter Cockerell, deceased, but with the proviso that he gave a pension of £4 to Samuel Scriven, a superannuated serjeant-at-mace. The regular salary of the mace-bearer was at this time raised to six guineas.

The next appointment was that of Joseph Satchwell, who was elected in 1766.

In June, 1776, the court of aldermen appointed Keeling Williamson mayor's serjeant or mace-bearer, in the room of Joseph Satchwell, the late mace-bearer, deceased.

In February, 1791, the same court elected Samuel Wainwright, clock and watchmaker, in the room of Keeling Williamson, deceased. On his resignation, in 1799, Wainwright was allowed by the assembly a pension of £5, in addition to the allowance made him by his successor, for his more comfortable support.

John Wright in 1799, Charles Balaam in 1801, and John Alliston in 1820, were the next three holders of this dignified office.

In 1813 it was agreed to pay the mace-bearer an additional salary of ten guineas for relieving the vagrants, such salary to commence from Michaelmas, 1809, when he first began to relieve the vagrants by direction of the mayor.

The mace-bearer, in 1833, received a salary of £27, in addition to the "small tolls." The nature of these tolls is explained in a subsequent section.

The GREAT MACE (Plate I), still carried before the mayor by the mayor's serjeant, is of silver-gilt. It is of the usual Charles II. form and, though somewhat shorter than the average of great maces, is remarkably well proportioned, there being an absence of the undue top-heaviness or of the excessive elongation which are the respective faults of not a few examples. The workmanship, whether of one or two periods, is excellent throughout, and most exceptionally well preserved.

It measures 45¼ inches in length, the circumference of the head is 16 inches, of the foot-knop 10 inches, and of the staff 3¼ inches. The weight is 10lb 14oz. The head is surmounted by an open-arched crown of four curved ribs, supporting the usual orb and cross. Round the head are four compartments, divided by half-length human figures or caryatides, are the royal badges of a fleur-de-lis (France), rose (England), thistle (Scotland), and harp (Ireland),

each surmounted by a crown between the initials C.R. Round the head is an upstanding rim of alternate crosses and fleur-de-lis. On the top of the head, beneath the open crown, are the quartered arms of France, England, Scotland, and Ireland, within the garter, and supported by the lion and unicorn, as borne by the Stuart sovereigns. The shaft is divided into three parts by two massive knops, and a tapering foot-knop. The encircling knops are ornamented with acanthus leaves. The foot-knop is chased with roses and thistles, and also bears in a medallion the arms of Northampton. Below the head are four elegant brackets, terminating in human faces. The shaft is most beautifully chased with a running pattern of roses and thistles. After a careful comparison of the great mace of Northampton with those of the House of Commons, Leicester, Chesterfield, and others that have been closely examined, and after looking through the descriptions of a score or two of maces of this period in the work of Messrs. Jewitt and Hope, it seems reasonable to suppose that the shaft and knops of this mace, and possibly part of the head, are of the Commonwealth date, and the workmanship of Thomas Maundy, the celebrated goldsmith, of London, to whom was entrusted the making of the House of Commons mace, and who secured by resolution of the house, dated June 6th, 1649, "That all other great maces to be used in this Commonwealth be made according to the same forme and paterne, and that the said Thomas Maundy have the making thereof and sate other." Soon after the restoration of the monarchy, this mace (like that of Leicester and several others still extant) would be altered in its head, or have a new head substituted, in order to conform with the revival of the kingly power. The workmanship of most, if not all, of the head of the Northampton mace is obviously different and somewhat inferior to that of the shaft, slight brackets, and knops.

With regard to the history of Northampton's great mace, it has already been noted that the one in the possession of the mace-bearer in 1608 was sold for old silver, and a new one purchased, in order to grace the state entry of James I. All that we have been able to ascertain with regard to this mace, then considered "so ruinous," is that it was given to the town in 1460 at the time when a new charter was granted by Henry VI.

The new one of 1608 would probably, judging from extant examples of that period, be a simple affair, having an enlarged

circular head, surrounded by a cresting. The royal arms would be engraved on the flattened top.

In a town that took so decided a stand against the monarchy at the very beginning of the great civil war, it may be safely assumed that this special emblem of deputed royal authority would soon give offence, and be disused, if not melted down. The resolution of the House of Commons in 1649 with regard to maces would be certain to take effect in such a borough as Northampton, and doubtless one of the best of Maundy's workmanship would speedily be in use.

In 1653 it is recorded that Mr. Laurence Wolaston, immediately after he had taken his oath as mayor on Michaelmas day, took the great mace away from Mr. Einsworth, the mayor's serjeant, and gave it to Mr Coldwell, the town clerk, to carry home before him. Further accounts of that day's stormy proceedings show that there was a great division among the aldermen as to the appointment of mayor's serjeant, and this was probably the cause of Mr. Wolaston's action with regard to the mace

On the restoration of the monarchy, the alternate cross of St George for England, and a harp for Ireland, with the inscription "The Freedom of England by God's blessing restored," which were the embellishments of a Commonwealth mace, would excite displeasure; accordingly we find that, in 1661, £80 was spent on a new mace, or rather, as we believe, on a new head and foot-knop to the Commonwealth mace Judging from the cost of other maces of this date, £80 would not have sufficed for a complete one such as that of Northampton

In 1666 the mace underwent a variety of vicissitudes. The disturbance about the election of mayor, to which reference has already been made, turned, to a considerable extent, on the possession of the mace, as the chief emblem of office The ex-mayor, Mr. Francis Pickner, refused to deliver it up to his successor. Lord Manchester, the recorder, appealed to the king and parliament The serjeant-at-arms of the parliament was despatched to Northampton, and arrested Mr. Pickner. At last, after being nineteen days in custody, the mace was surrendered.

In the following year, Richard Rands was elected to the mayoralty, and when sworne in "he made no feast nor so much as made the aldermen drink, a thing not usual, but went home a back way, and the Mace bearer carried the Mace under his coat."

From directions given to Thomas Coles, the bellman, in 1660, for the repairing of the pavement of the Woodhill and for sweeping it clean every week, we find that the Woodhill tolls levied on all carts bringing fuel there were then assigned to the holder of the bellman's office. Thomas Coles, in common with the sexton of All Saints and the town waits, received (according to an order of 1621) 13s. 4d. every two years towards furnishing him with a blue coat. Coles was also ordered, at the same time, to always wear the town recognizances on his sleeve, according to old custom.

George Marshall was elected and sworn town crier in August, 1658. The chamberlains were forthwith ordered to provide him with a coat, and to deliver to him the bell, two staves, and the cognisance, and to pay the late crier's wife, Widow Appletree, 4s. 6d.

The crier was at that time required—

"(1) to attend Mr. Maior upon all occasions.
(2) to weare his Coate Constantly and his Brazed Staffe
(3) to attend the woman's market, and keepe a place theare for the Roade.
(4) to take Care that the Streates are kept Cleane.
(5) to Cleanse the Bridges and gates and his part of the market place"

In 1675 the town crier received 2s. for "crying the commens and assisting at branding." Similar entries occur for a number of years.

The mayor and alderman appointed John Boone in October 1666, to be "Towne Bedle and Cryer" in the room of Thomas Peedle.

In 1701 the same court ordered that the crier, sexton, and hall-keeper have livery coats the same as formerly.

At the aldermen's court, January 30th, 1706-7, the mayor nominated Daniel Sanders to be crier in Brian Rushworth's room, then deceased. The aldermen consented, "provided he behave himself civilly and orderly, and if not to be turned out." He also took office on condition of paying Brian Rushworth's widow a shilling per week.

In 1718, on July 18th, Daniel Sanders was ejected from his office "for many loose and disorderly Practices and particularly for his disrespectfull and abusive behaviour towards his Superiors." The sexton of All Saints was instructed to take an account of

the profits of the corn belonging to the crier, and bring them to the mayor every Saturday night, until Sanders' successor was appointed.

On September 30th the aldermen elected Thomas Hanson common crier upon two conditions—(1) that the profits from the toll of corn be sequestered and paid into the mayor's hands weekly, until the pavement or pebbling of the Market Hill be put in good repair, and (2) that when Hanson receives the full profits, that then he shall pay every Friday eighteen pence to his sister towards her support and maintenance.

To Thomas Hanson succeeded Benjamin Farrin, and on the removal of Farrin for misbehaviour in 1745, the aldermen elected Robert Moore to be town crier in his place.

On June 11th, 1750, Robert Cox, one of the serjeants-at-mace, was elected by the aldermen town crier in the room of Samuel Fowler, deceased.

The court of aldermen in April, 1777, appointed John Smith (who had been one of the four serjeants) to the office of town crier in the room of Robert Cox, deceased.

In 1785 the same court duly elected John Roberts (who had been flag carrier) town crier in the place of John Smith, deceased.

With regard to the dress of the town crier, there fortunately exists in the town museum, an oil painting, on panel, of Thomas Coles in 1618, when that white-bearded official was 79 years of age. He is represented in dark blue gown lined with red, bearing the town arms embroidered in colours on the left sleeve. The sleeve badge of silver was worn on the coat, and is concealed in the picture. In the right hand is a tall staff tipped with the town arms, and in the left a belt, with leather handle-flap at the top. Thomas Coles, who was appointed, as we have seen, in 1590, continued to act till 1626, when he was 87 years old.

We now revert to the references that are made in the records to the livery and insignia of the town crier. In 1584 the assembly ordered that silver cognizances should be prepared for the crier, the hall-keeper and the waits, the two former were to wear the cognizance or badge on their livery coat. They were to give sureties on appointment to office for the due return of the badge on their resignation or removal.

These silver badges are still worn by the crier and hall-keeper, though much worn with frequent use and polishing. The best of

the two is the hall-keeper's, which is figured on Plate II. It is of an oval shape, 4½ inches by 3½ inches, bearing the town arms in the centre, and surrounded by a well executed floral border. Specimens of town badges in use or in museums remain in twenty-four English boroughs, but only two, besides Northampton, have badges of sixteenth century date, namely, Hereford, 1583, and Eye, 1592.

The town crier's staff is of black painted wood, with brass ferrule, and tipped with a knop of brass, the whole surmounted with a gilded representation of the town arms carved in wood. Round the knop is engraved, in letters much worn through frequent polishing, "Ad usum Municipii Northton ex dono B B. Lodon, 1683." Some two centuries later, a town crier desired to hand down his name to his successors and others, for on the lower part of this upper garnishing of brass is inscribed: "J. T. Ward, Town Crier, 1841." The staff now measures 6ft. 3in., but has recently been deprived of some six inches of its original stature.

The mayor's accounts for 1692 record the purchase of a "blew coate for the Cryer" at £1 16s. 1d In 1712 the crier's coat cost £2 3s. 10d., and two years later £2 14s. 0d.

In 1724 the badge was "new gilded" at a charge of 7s 6d. The head of the crier's staff was mended and gilded at a cost of seven shillings in 1728. A new bell for the crier was provided in 1741, at a cost of ten shillings; and in the same year the town arms at the top of his staff were re-gilt at the charge of four shillings. The highest price named for the crier's or bellman's coat was in 1751, when it cost £2 18s. His gown or cloak required renewing much less frequently, and was probably only worn on special state occasions. In 1704 three cloaks and lining were provided for the bellman and two beadles, each one of them costing £1 19s. 8d.

There are two or three references made to the crier's cap in the 17th century, but we cannot state the price, as it is associated with other livery. In 1770 "a guinea was paid for the Cryer's Hatte," and in 1777 a gold-laced hat was provided, at a like cost. In 1825 hats for the crier and hall-keeper cost £3 16s, and their liveries £12 10s. 7d

Several occasional duties of the town crier are incidentally

Head of Georgian Mace

Elizabethan Sleeve Badge

Head of Jacobean Mace

PLATE II.

for the 3 Bellmen." These must refer to the crier and two beadles. We do not quite understand why a town the size of Northampton should have required three bellmen, but we can only suppose that the two beadles were used occasionally in this capacity, perhaps in connection with the numerous fairs and markets. The beadles, in conjunction with the crier, were usually appointed to keep order round the frequent market square bonfires, on occasions of national thanksgiving.

Tall staves, usually tipped with silver or metal knobs, were the ordinary emblems of the authority of municipal beadles. Such staves are still possessed by Faversham, Norwich, Bridgenorth, Hull, Reading, and a few other boroughs. These staves are, as Mr. Hope points out, "the descendents and modern representatives of the oldest municipal insignia, the *virgæ*, wands, or staves carried by the serjeants as emblems of authority before the adoption of maces."

Northampton possesses two such beadle staves, exactly similar. They each measure 6ft. 9in. in height, and consist of thick black painted wooden staves, surmounted by rounded knobs of white metal, and encased with similar metal for 9in. from the top, the lower edge of which is vandyked. They are of exceptional appearance, and are at least as old as the town crier's staff. Until recently one of these was carried by the present town beadle; now they are borne in civic procession by the two sanitary inspectors. The two corporation beadles used to head the town's array with these twin staves of simple construction but imposing size.

With reference to staves, it is of interest to note that on December 14th, 1702, at the court of aldermen, "Mr. Mayor intimating the Thirdboroughs of this towne had noe Staves and the Constables verry meane and unpaynted short ones. It is agreed and Ordered that Mr. Mayor doe according to his Discretion provide what are wanting, and order them to be paynted by Robert Welsh a Debtor to the Corporation for his Freedome, and sett off the charge of the painting them upon the said Welsh his bond."

The Waits

It was the good old custom of mediæval England for every well regulated corporation to officially engage a band of minstrels, called waits. They were originally the watchmen who were ready to

sound the alarm on horn or trumpet, or to pipe the hours and different watches of the night. Hence they developed into a band of musicians, and their duty as watchmen died out. At the time of the inquiry into corporation life, made in 1834, prior to the Reform Act, only six boroughs retained the services of waits, viz., Bristol, Chester, Leeds, Lincoln, Nottingham, and York, but wherever old records and minutes exist (be the town big or small) entries are found relative to the town musicians.

They always wore a specially-devised variety of the town livery, and round their neck a silver badge, usually attached to a collar. No one was suffered to play in public save the licensed waits. They played in the town at variable times for the gratification of the inhabitants, and were usually allowed to seek a dole, but on all special civic occasions they were expected to play, and received an acknowledgment from the town purse.

The first mention of the town waits or minstrels of Northampton that we have noticed is under the year 1584, when the assembly made the following order:—

"That the waytes of the towne shall have each of them a liverey yearly and the conysaunce of the Towne in silver putting in mettyes to redeliver the cognisaunce at their departure."

In 1590 order was made that "Thomas Bentley one of the waghtes of the seyde towne" should have a livery.

The order for annual livery, made in 1584, was repealed in 1592, when it was agreed "that the towne waytes shall have their liveries this yeare and everie seconde yeare after and not other wayes."

In the first year of king James the question of the livery of the minstrels again came before the assembly, when it was agreed "That the wayte players commonlie called the towne waytes in regard of their humble suite shall at this instant have fourtie and eight shillings towards furnishing of them with coate clothes; And that from henceforth everie seconde yeare the saide waytes shall have their coate clothes allowed them by the towne chamber in suche sorte and in everie respectt as ys sett downe in order heretofore made in that behalfe and not otherwise."

This order was again varied in 1624, when it was enacted that "the towne wayte or musicians" should have 13s. 4d. apiece allowed them every two years towards furnishing them with "blew coates," which were to be finished and made up at their own charges, and to put upon their coats the town cognizance

In 1655 the assembly ordered "that the waytes shall have yverie cloakes but once every foure yeares according to the old wages formerly paid unto them which was six shillings eight pence a piece yearly to every one of them."

During the unsettled times immediately preceding, and just after the Restoration, the payment of the town minstrels got in arrear. On November 10th, 1662, the assembly passed the following resolution.—"That the Towne Wayte Players be allowed for their yearely Wages markes apeece towards theire Liveries, And that they be payd their Wages in Arreare being Nobles apeece for four yeares last past."

The Leicester corporation dismissed their band of waits in 1671 because of disorderly character, and we find from their minutes that they engaged the Northampton waits to take their place on Easter Monday and at the May Day fair.

The chamberlain's accounts for 1680 state that £4 was paid to "Mr. Mayor for ye Wateplayers blew cloth."

In 1692 the town supplied four new silver badges for the waits at a cost of £2 17s, and at the same time paid 2s 8d for four yards of red ribbon to suspend the badges round their necks.

In 1698 "1 new Cloake for a Wayteplayer and mending the 3 other Cloakes" cost £2 8s 11d.

The mayor's accounts for 1702-3 records:—

	£	s	d
P^d Mr Clarke for 3 Cloakes for ye wait players ..	5	19	0
P^d Mr Thos Dawes for making ye Cloakes 12s, for lace for ye Capes 6s	0	18	0

On Thanksgiving night, in 1693, the town musicians were paid 5s for their services. Like entries are frequent. Many will be found in the section on National Events, which we do not here repeat. Drummers are first mentioned at the peace rejoicings in September, 1697, and subsequently special trumpet players.

The mayor's accounts from 1780 to 1790 have a regular charge for music of two guineas.

After many years' silence with regard to town music in any shape, so far as the chamberlain's accounts are concerned, we find in 1799 that there was a payment of a guinea to "musicians at the Anniversary Meeting of the General Infirmary and Mayor's Feast."

Flags and Flag Carriers.

It does not seem to have been the custom at any time in our history for English boroughs to be in possession of, or to use flags or banners. But to every general custom or rule there are exceptions. Preston has a town flag consisting of the borough arms, mounted on blue silk, which is carried in civic processions. The ancient town of Colchester possesses a banner, which is carried before the corporation at the proclamation of the fair, and at the excursion down the Colne at the holding of a court of conservancy. These two flags are considered to be survivals of respective early uses. The interesting Shropshire town of Bridgnorth, has also a banner, but this one, consisting of the borough arms, was only purchased for the corporation in 1863, on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales. Richmond (Yorkshire) also has a banner of the town arms, and York used to possess a city ensign so long ago as the days of Elizabeth.

Notwithstanding these exceptions (and we believe every exception has been named), the old English custom was evidently to assign flags and banners to military use, or ecclesiastical display, and not to connect them with civic pageantry or town processions. It is therefore all the more remarkable, and quite exceptional, to find Northampton in possession of two flags and one banner, all of which are carried in procession. One of the flags is of blue silk, with a full achievement of the royal arms, and the other is of the same colour, but bears the arms of the town. The lofty staves of these large flags are respectively surmounted by a crown and a mitre. These flags were the gift of Mr Thomas Osborn, and were first used in 1882, when the mayor and corporation attended in state at the opening services of the church of St. Michael. The Bishop of Peterborough on that occasion hallowed the flags. These flags were the successors of two of similar dimensions, borne on staves thirteen feet high, which were at that date discarded. They are preserved at the town hall, but are in a considerably tattered condition. These flags are also of blue silk surrounding large achievements, and bear the date of 1822. Below both the arms of England and of the town are the words "Corporation of Northampton."

On searching the records, the earliest entry that we can find is under the year 1692, when the town paid £6 14s. "for new making the 2 towne flagges." They are described in 1697 as

"the twoe flaggs, one of the towne, and thother the royal standarde." In 1712, three shillings was paid for "gilding against the toppes of the flag staves." An entry in 1740-1, "Pd Richd Maning for painting the Corporation streamers, 11s. 0d.," may refer to the flags. From 1741 downwards, with but few exceptions, entries are made year by year, for the payment of the flag carriers on certain state days, such as May 29th, Michaelmas day, November 5th, Christmas day, and the hospital anniversary. The usual scale of payment was a shilling per flag on each occasion. Last century the aldermen considered the honour and pay of being a flag-bearer to the corporation of sufficient importance to justify a special appointment. The court of aldermen, for instance, elected in 1785, Christopher Couchwell "flag carrier in the place of John Roberts promoted to be town crier." In 1787 William Robinson was duly elected one of the two flag-carriers, in the room of John Sherwood, promoted to be beadle.

New flags were procured in 1781, when the mayor paid "Mr William Balaam for Flaggs a Bill of £32 10s." The mayor's accounts of 1802-3 show that the flags were renewed that year at a cost of £30 2s. In 1822 the sum of £18 7s was paid to alderman Armfield for silk for new flags, the remnants of which still remain.

The remarkable fact that Northampton, of all the corporate towns of England and Wales, is the only one that carries the royal standard is of special interest. We have traced the custom back to 1692, and even then the two flags were successors to their worn-out predecessors.

The carrying of the royal arms of England on a flag in a civic procession would be altogether an unwarrantable assumption, unless such a privilege had been granted by express charter, or by the verbal leave and sanction of one of our monarchs. There is no town in the kingdom (save London) that has been oftener visited by royalty from the time of the Conquest downwards than the once strongly fortified and centrally-situated borough of Northampton. It seems, then, reasonable to assume that these civic flags of Northampton (at all events the royal standard) have their origin in the favour of some royal visitor or resident of the remote past. It has been suggested that William III may have conferred this extraordinary privilege during his brief visits to the town. But this cannot have been the case, or the flag would not have required renewing so early as 1692.

representatives. For the like reason scarlet was the colour for the official robe of the reeve or mayor, who, though elected by the people, was the royal representative. The same use applied to the aldermen, who had once been mayors, and were still the mayor's co-brethren and advisers.

The occasional apparent exceptions to the old rule of scarlet as the state and official colour, such as black, or purple, or blue for mayor and aldermen, all disappear on careful examination; these other colours, where not modern, being the ordinary or more common dress

So far as Northampton is concerned, there is no early evidence as to the colour of the official dress, but it is quite impossible to conceive that this one important town formed any exception to the invariable rule wherever such evidence is forthcoming; particularly when it is recollected that Northampton was more favoured as a place for royal visits and royal sojourns than any other town in the kingdom, and that it was famed from early days for the purity of its scarlet dye.

At an assembly held on October 20th, 1589 it was ordered "that all the Maiors that nowe are or that hereafter shalbe of this towne shall yearely att the Feaste of Saynte Michael th' Archaungell, the Feaste of the Nativitie, or birthe of our Lord God, the Feaste daye of Easter, and the Feaste Day of Whyt Sondaye were there Scarlett as uppon these dayes, uppon payne that every main makeing defaulte for not wearinge the sayd Scarlett uppon the said daies to Forfeyt xijd for every defaulte." It will presently be noted, under the head of "Royal Visits," that the mayor and aldermen wore their scarlet when greeting king James in 1606.

In 1612 it was stated "that there was so much disorder and unseemliness in and about the company of this Reverend assembly at all meetings, both at Assemblys, Courts, and Sessions, by reason of their undecencie in apparell to the disgrace of this Corporation, Nowe for reformation thereof it is agreed and ordered that all persons of this Assemblie that nowe is, or that hereafter shalbe, that is to say all everie and singular Maior, Alderman, and Baylife and Burgesse of the said Corporation shalbe hereafter at all meetings sommones and appearances at Assemblys Courtes and Scessions Attired in a black or some sad couloured apparell decentlie provided, and in Comelie and decente Ruffe bandes

uppon paine that every person doeing the Contrary in anye respecte shall forfeit Tenne shillings."

Another order, at a later assembly of the same year, provides that the bailiffs, and all those that have been bailiffs, shall, upon every Sunday and festival day, come to church in their best gowns upon pain of 3s. 4d.; and that Mr Mayor and his brethren shall upon November 5th yearly wear their scarlet gowns under a like penalty. The forty-eight burgesses were also ordered to attend church wearing their gowns upon the same day. An order of 1620 provided that the mayor and his brethren (or aldermen) were to wear scarlet on every Sunday and festival.

Complaint was made in 1653 that the assembly had again become disorderly and unseemly in its attire, divers coming to the assembly in cloaks and not in gownes, and in plain bands, contrary to ancient custom. The assembly thereupon renewed the former order insisting that every mayor, alderman, bailiff, and burgess should attend in gowns and ruffed bands. The small penalties then imposed upon defaulters differed according to the rank of the offender; an alderman was fined 16d., a bailiff 12d., and a burgess 8d.

The assembly of October 5th, 1655, repealed and annulled the dress orders of 1612 and 1653, excepting the order for the aldermen to wear their scarlet gowns and the bailiffs and burgesses their black gowns to church on November 5th. The order of 1620 was also repealed, but the aldermen were still to wear their scarlet gowns, and the bailiffs and burgesses their black gowns and sad apparel at assemblies and session

In 1659 it was ordered that all those of the forty-eight who had not gowns and decent apparel were forthwith to provide themselves, and that henceforth any one elected to the forty-eight was to procure a gown and decent apparel within three months of his election, or be fined 10s.

By an order of October 7th, 1670, every member of the house coming to an assembly without his gown was fined five shillings.

On December 18th, 1670, a more elaborate order was made, whereby mayors and ex-mayors were to come to church from Michaelmas to May 1st every Sunday with scarlet gowns furred with "foynes," and from May 1st until Michaelmas with the gowns laced either with satin or damask; their wives (whether their husbands be living or dead) were to wear their velvet hats every

Sunday; no alderman was to come to church in his cloak on lecture day, the penalty for defaulting in any of the above cases was five shillings. The bailiffs were ordered to come to church in their gowns every Sunday, and their wives to wear taffeta or embroidered hats under like penalties. The widows of mayors or bailiffs were excused wearing their velvet or taffeta hats for a year after their husband's death, but no longer.

The term "foyne" implies an English brown fur, spelt in various fashions. It has been diversely explained as wild cat or martin, as squirrel, and as fox. On the whole, we think the fox of these was probably here intended. Christopher Barnard, alderman of Northampton, by will dated 1553, left his "scarlett gowne furred with foxe" to his daughter Margaret "to serve for a coveringe", a term then usually applied to a bed quilt.

Other local wills of about this period make mention of black gowns trimmed with grey or badger; it is possible that this was the dress of the bailiffs.

There are two other references, of seventeenth century date, to the ladies' dress, in both of which it specifies that the mayor and aldermen's wives were to wear scarlet gowns, and velvet hats, on all the Sundays and festivals when their husbands were arrayed in scarlet. The custom of the wife of the chief magistrate being entitled to this special distinction for her life seems only to have prevailed in the more important towns. It can be shown that this use prevailed at Kings Lynn, Shrewsbury, Salisbury, and Winchester, as well as at Northampton and London. The probable pattern of the Northampton ladies' velvet and silk hats can be seen on the brass of the two wives of George Coles, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In 1678 the penalty for being gownless in the assembly was raised to ten shillings, but in the following year the penalty was lowered, a gownless alderman being fined five shillings, whilst a bailiff or a burgess in like predicament were respectively fined half-a-crown and eighteen pence. The assembly were peculiarly fickle as to these fines, for in 1684 the five shilling penalty on every gownless member of the house was re-imposed.

In 1689 the forty-eight were ordered to provide themselves with gowns, and if any one had not done so within a month of the order he was to be fined five shillings.

SECTION THREE.

Civic Jurisdiction.

Recorders — Town counsel — Coroners — Treasure trove — Magistrates — Stewards — Court of record or hustings — Orphans' court — Statute merchant recognizances — Staple merchants and inventories — Mayor as arbitrator — Mayor as escheator — Vernalls inquests — Convictions for swearing — Constables, Thirdboroughs, and dozeners — The town seals — Judges and assizes.

THE RECORDERS.

THE Recorder is a municipal official of comparative modern growth. Owing to the diversity of business and intricate legal procedure that came before the local town courts, it became usual in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to formally associate with the popularly-chosen and elected mayor and other justices of a free municipality (usually drawn from the rank of commerce) a legal assessor in order to secure a better and less fluctuating administration of justice. The method and period of appointment of recorders, as well as their powers, differed materially in various boroughs.

The first charter mention of a recorder for Northampton is in 1478, when he is incidentally named as an established official, before whom (in conjunction with the coroners) the mayor was henceforth to take the oaths of office. An ordinance of the court of hustings, of February 1st, 1489, quoted in the customary, names Richard Empson as recorder. This first-named recorder of Northampton was an historic character; the various important positions that he filled and his tragic fate are named on p. 312 of the previous volume.

Henry VII.'s charter, of 1495, provided that the assembly might at Michaelmas elect a discreet man learned in the law as recorder, to sit with the mayor and two other burgesses as justice of the peace for the administration of a variety of statutes. Three were to form a quorum, or two if the recorder was one.

A century later, by the Elizabethan charter of 1599, it was further provided that the mayor, burgesses, and bailiffs of Northampton may have for ever "one honest and discreet man learned in the laws of this Kingdom of England" as the recorder of the town. This charter nominated Christopher Yelverton, serjeant-at-law, as recorder, and provided that after his death or removal the assembly might nominate another from time to time.

The next charter, of 1618, nominated Sir Henry Yelverton recorder for his natural life, provided that the assembly should elect his successor, and gave to him and his brother justices (namely the the mayor, ex-mayor, and one other elected burgess) as full power,

without commission, as justices of the peace of the county possessed. Three were to form a quorum of whom the recorder must be one

The charter of 1663 nominated Edward, Earl of Manchester recorder for life, with powers to the common council to elect a successor after his decease, and for the recorder to select a deputy; certain powers as justices being reserved to "the mayor recorder or deputy recorder" The second charter of Charles II., 1683, named Henry, Earl of Peterborough, as recorder for life, his successor to be elected by the common council; ordered that the court of record should be held before the mayor, recorder, deputy recorder, and two bailiffs; and gave definite power to the recorder to appoint a deputy to act during his pleasure.

The 1796 charter re-appointed Spencer, Earl of Northampton, as recorder, and appointed Spencer Percival as deputy recorder, but subject to removal at the discretion of the recorder

The first mention of a recorder in the orders of assembly occurs in the reign of Philip and Mary, when at an assembly held on July 16th, 1553, Mr. Francis Morgan was sworn recorder of Northampton It is stated that Mr. Morgan at that time dwelt in the abbey of St. Andrew, within the town s liberties Mr. Morgan died in the tenth year of Elizabeth, and the next appointment was made by the mayor and aldermen in the following terms: –

Mᵈ the xixᵗʰ day of July, 1568, at a councell holden by Mr John Bryan maior off Northampton and his cobretheren to wit John Balgey, Edward Manley, John Longe, Ralfe Menarde, Richard Wharloo, and Thomas Pemberton. By good deliberation and advicement of the said maior and his brotheren did elect and chuse in to the offices off Recordership of Northampton one Christofer Yelverton gentilman to supplie the office abovesaide. In virtues of the premises that the saide maior and his cobretheren have to this book of records sette ther hands the day and yere above

In this instance it seems clear that the mayor and aldermen had usurped a right which, by the charter of 1495, pertained to the whole assembly.

Mr. Yelverton retained the office for nearly thirty-three years. About ten years after his appointment he became possessed by purchase of the manor of Easton Maudit, in this county, and sat in two Elizabethan parliaments as a knight of the shire for Northampton Subsequently Mr Yelverton was appointed speaker of the House of Commons, and was eventually appointed judge of the Queen's Bench. On his appointment to the judicial bench, he prevailed upon the town of Northampton to confer the dignity of the recordership on his son.

At an assembly held on March 1st, 1601, the following order was made:—

Yt was agreed and ordered that Henry Yelverton Esquire sonne and heire apparant of the right worshipfull Christofer Yelverton, one of the Justices of her maiesties bench, shall (and the rather in regard of the right honorable the Lordes and members of the Queenes maiesties councell their letters in his behalfe) be recorder of the towne of Northampton, and have, enjoy, and exercise that office in the roomth and place of his syde father.

In 1606 Henry Yelverton was preferred to be "reader in Grayes Inn" and the Northampton assembly, rejoicing in the reflected honour, voted him a gratuity of five pounds out of the town chamber. Three years later the town was less amiably disposed towards their recorder, for on May 4th, 1609, it was ordered that "no more money be allowed towardes the entertainement of Mr Recorder at his coming to the towne upon the feast daie of St. Michael then sixtene shillings, and that for this tyme Mr. Wilkinson his bill for charges he claymeth about his entertaynement shalbe allowed receyved and discharged."

In 1613 Mr. Henry Yelverton was made solicitor-general, and in 1617 attorney-general He was one of the members for Northampton in the last parliament of Elizabeth and the first of James I.

In 1619 the king issued letters patent confirming Sir Henry Yelverton in the recordership of Northampton for the term of his natural life. Soon after he incurred the royal displeasure, and was made a Star Chamber prisoner in the tower for some months On June 10th, 1623, the corporation accepted Sir Henry's resignation of the recordership on his appointment as a judge of common pleas, and proceeded to elect, at his strong recommendation, "one Christofer Shorland, nephew to the said Sir Henry" It was also agreed that Mr Shorland should be made a freeman of the town, without payment, after he had taken his oath for his freedom, and should at the same time take the accustomed oath for the executing of the office of the recordership according to the "best benefit and wealth of this Corporation." Sir Henry Yelverton regained royal favour and was made judge of common pleas by Charles I., in 1625, he died in 1629.

Christopher Shorland was one of the members of parliament for Northampton for the last parliament of James I. and the first three of Charles I On his death, he was succeeded in the recordership by Richard Lane. In the troublous times that preceded the Commonwealth, Richard Lane was removed by the vote of the

corporation. At an assembly held on December 14th, 1642, it was resolved

Whereas Richard Lane Esquier Recorder of the towne of Northampton is altogether absent in these tymes of danger from this Corporation soe as the Corporation cannot have his Countenance and Counsell in this tyme of need, that as well for this cause as for other causes knowen to this assemblie, It is ordered that he shalbe noe longer Recorder of this towne, And therefore by consent of the wholl assemblie Edward Earl of Manchester is elected and chosen Recorder of this towne

The "other causes" mentioned in this resolution were doubtless that recorder Lane was strenuously supporting the royalist party. Richard Lane, of yeomanry parentage in the parish of Courteenhall, was a distinguished lawyer. He was counsel for the Earl of Stafford at his impeachment in 1640, and was soon after made attorney to Prince Charles. In 1643 he retired with the king to Oxford, where he was knighted, made serjeant-at-law, and lord chief baron of the exchequer. In 1695 he had the great seal delivered to him, on the death of Lord Littleton He died in France in 1651.

The nomination and election of the Earl of Manchester, the great parliamentary general, to the recordership of Northampton must have been intended as an emphatic compliment to this rising leader, and a bold declaration on the part of the town as to the staunchness of their sympathies.

In 1658 Mr. Francis Harvey is incidentally mentioned as recorder of Northampton. He died in 1660, holding the office of recorder, and being also member of parliament for the borough up to the time of his death. Possibly, however, Mr. Harvey was only deputy recorder.

The charter of 1663 shows that the king appointed, or rather re-appointed, Edward, Earl of Manchester, to the recordership. The earl, though a distinguished general of the parliamentary army, and the victor of Marston Moor, was opposed to the execution of Charles I., and retired from parliament till 1660. He then voted for the restoration of Charles II., and was chosen by the peers as their spokesman to congratulate the king on his return. He retained the honourable position of recorder to the town till his death in 1671.

A contest then arose concerning the recordership of Northampton, (which must at that time have been considered a post of peculiar honour) between the two great earls of the county, who were both of them celebrated royalists. The much-coveted post was first conferred by the assembly upon the Earl of Peterborough Harry

second Earl of Peterborough, greatly distinguished himself in the civil wars. He raised a regiment for the king at his own expense, and suffered frequent imprisonment. He was trusted with a variety of delicate missions by Charles II., and acted as proxy in the marriage ceremony of James, Duke of York, at the court of Modena. James Earl of Northampton, was also most actively engaged throughout the civil war, and commanded the horse at the battle of Newbury. He, too, was much honoured by Charles II., and was made constable of the tower, and lord lieutenant of the hamlets, lord lieutenant of the county of Warwick, lieutenant and recorder of the city of Coventry, and also recorder of the towns of Northampton and Tamworth; he died at Castle Ashby in 1681.

For some cause that we have not been able to trace, the Earl of Peterborough gave offence to the burgesses of Northampton. They resolved to avail themselves of their charter-right of free election to the recordership.

Accordingly, at an assembly held on October 14th, 1672, it was agreed that

This Corporation of Northampton having had long experience of the manifold Kindnesses and favours done by the Right Honble James Earle of Northampton to the Corporation have by an unanimous Consent Elected and Chosen the s^d Earle of Northampton their Recorder and doe pray his acceptance thereof.

The Earl of Peterborough naturally resented his deposition from office and considered the matter of sufficient importance to bring it before the king and the privy council. It will be best to give verbatim the entry in the Northampton order book at an assembly held on November 7th, 1672:—

Upon Readeing the Petition of the Earle of Peterborough which was Exhibited to his sacred Majesty and the Counsell Board and the Order thereupon dated the Thirteth day of October last past It is Ordered that John Willoughby Esq. the present Mayor of this said towne together with what persons he shall thinke convenient be Desired to attend his Majesty and the Privy Counsell upon Wednesday next being the day appointed for all persons concerned in the Election of a Recorder for this Towne to appear And that he doe then informe his Majesty that the Earle of Peterborow did earnestly solliciti for the Office of Recorder of the Towne of Northampton by Letters and freindes long before his Election to the same And since that heretofore during the Intervme of the Recorder in being the Mayor, Bailiffs, and other Burgesses have Elected a new Recorder according to their Charter, which Elections have stood good. And further that the Right Honble the Earle of Northampton was Elected Recorder of the said Corporation at the last Election of Officers for the said Towne with the unanimous consent of every person there present at the Assembly And that verry many were dissatisfied

at the Earle of Peterborow's Election to the same And they doe also Order that a Petition be handed by the Burgesses of this Corporation in these words following viz

We the Mayor Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Towne of Northampton in full Assembly being in the Guild Hall of the said Towne the seventh day of November 1672 Doe humbly request that his sacred Majesty may be supplicated to give his Royall approbation to the Election of the right honble the Earle of Northampton to be our Recorder for this present yeare, according to our late Election, as we are directed and empowered by our Charter.

The result of this appearance of the mayor and deputation before the privy council appears from an order of the assembly made on December 12th, 1672. It was then decreed that the Earl of Northampton have the oath of a freeman administered to him at the same time that he taketh the oath of recorder; that the common seal be affixed to an instrument asserting that the earl should have and enjoy the perquisites, profits, and fees accustomed and formerly paid to any recorder: and that the Northampton assembly and their successors shall yearly, at Michaelmas, elect the Earl of Northampton to be their recorder, and so yearly continue their election during the earl's natural life In accordance with this curious stipulation, the formality of the yearly election of the Earl of Northampton is entered continuously in the order book up to the time of his death

On the death of the Earl of Northampton, the assembly, on December 23rd, 1681, elected Edward, Lord Montagu, as recorder, and humbly recommended him to the king's most excellent majesty for his gracious approbation At another assembly, held three days later, the common seal of the town was affixed to the order of Lord Montagu's election

In making this selection, the choice of the burgesses fell on a remarkable man. Sir Edward Montagu, of Boughton, was created a baron, as Lord Montagu of Boughton, by James I. in 1622 He soon became a leading man in the county, and was a special benefactor to the town of Northampton Sir Philip Warwick, in his life of Charles I., says that Lord Montagu "bore such sway there (Northampton), that turned everything at his Beck, and the Multitude or Vulgars flock'd about him when he came to Town, as if he had been there topical Deity" He was lord lieutenant of the county at the beginning of the Commonwealth troubles, and taking the side of the king was sent as prisoner to London, where he died in 1644. He was succeeded by his eldest son

Edward, the second Lord Montagu, who at first took the side of the parliament, and was one of those who was nominated by the Houses to go to receive the king from the Scots, and to conduct him to Holdenby House. He was opposed, however, to the trial of Charles I., and eventually he and his sons took a very active part in the restoration of Charles II. Lord Montagu was no courtier, and during the conditions of the restored monarch's court he retired to the country, where he passed a quiet life. His second son Ralph (who eventually succeeded his father, and afterwards was created Earl and then Duke of Montagu by William III. and Queen Anne) became a favourite at court, and acted on several occasions as special ambassador to France. Disappointed, however, in expected preferment, he took up a hostile attitude to Charles II. He was elected member for Northampton in 1678, for county of Huntingdon in 1679, and again for Northampton in 1680 and 1681, and was the chief mover of the Bills for shutting out the Duke of York (James II.) from the succession. It was soon after Ralph had set himself in decided opposition to the king, in the parliament held at Oxford, that Northampton took the opportunity of electing his old father, Edward, Lord Montagu, to their recordership.

The crown, not unnaturally declined to ratify the choice of the burgesses, as is expressed in the following official communication —

To our trusty and welbeloved the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of Our Towne of Northampton.

Charles R.

Trusty and welbeloved we greet you Well. There having been presented unto Us under your Common Seale a Certificate of your choice of Our Right Trusty and well beloved Edward Lord Montague to be Recorder of your Corporation within Our Burrough and Towne of Northampton with a Recommendation of such your choice to Us for Our gracious approbation according to the purport of your Charter. We have thought fitt not to approve of your said choice. And doe hereby signify unto you our Disadowance thereof, requiring you upon sight hereof to proceede to a new Election of a Recorder expert in the Lawes of Our Land as your Charter directs. And soe we bid you farewell. Given at Our Court att Windsor the 14th day of May 1682 in the four and thirtieth yeare of our reigne.

By his Majesty's Commaund.

L. Jenkins.

The king now seized the opportunity of conferring the appointment on his special favourite, the Earl of Peterborough, who had already been recorder in 1671 for a brief period.

The assembly proved submissive, and on July 7th, 1682, elected Henry, Earl of Peterborough, recorder, praying for the royal

approbation, and further ordering that the common seal be affixed to an instrument for his enjoyment of the said office for life. On July 20th Charles II. formally approved of the appointment, and the royal approbation is duly entered in full in the order book

For the next six years the Earl of Peterborough was annually re-elected recorder each successive Michaelmas. He was held in the highest esteem by James II., carried the sceptre with the cross at his coronation, and was admitted Knight of the Garter But at the revolution of 1688, the House of Commons resolved on the earl's impeachment for departing from his allegiance, and being reconciled to the Church of Rome. The impeachment, however, was dropped, and he died in retirement in 1697

His loyalty to James II. naturally involved the abandonment of the recordership of Northampton, together with all other offices. At an assembly held on March 13th, 1688-9, George, Earl of Northampton, was admitted and took his oath as a freeman, and was at the same time sworne as a recorder. The earl was not of age at the time of his father's decease, but was made lord lieutenant of Warwickshire by Charles II. He was continued in this and other offices by James II., but declining to approve of the repeal of the penal laws by royal prerogative he was deprived of his commission On the accession of William III., George, Earl of Northampton, was at once restored to favour, and carried the sceptre with the cross at the coronation. In 1695 King William visited the earl at Castle Ashby, at the same time entering Northampton. By Queen Anne, he was appointed constable of the tower and lord lieutenant of the hamlets.

The corporation continued to annually re-elect the earl until his death, which occurred on April 15th, 1727. On April 17th the assembly met and elected James, Earl of Northampton, as recorder in the room of his father. He was returned as a young man as knight of the shire for co Warwick, and so distinguished himself that he was called up to the House of Lords in 1711 as Baron Compton. At the coronation of George I. he carried the ivory rod and dove.

James, the fifth earl, died without male issue in 1753, and was succeeded by his brother George, who had been member for Northampton from 1727 to the time of his succession. He died without issue in 1758, and was succeeded by his nephew Charles the seventh earl. Charles, in 1763, was followed in the earldom by

1796, was succeeded by his son
these earls were respectively
by the assembly. The voting,
animous. For instance, on October
came to a vote on the respective
npton and Lord Spencer to the recorder-
mbly, eighty-one members being present.
for Lord Northampton, and 27 for Lord

earl and the first marquis of Northampton, died
assembly held on August 7th of that year the
John Beauclerk, barrister-at-law, to be recorder
the late Marquis of Northampton, and he was duly
sly elected. Mr. Beauclerk, from 1810, had been the
deputy recorder, and the assembly in 1828 wisely deter-
give the full title, and whatever honour the position
d, upon the one who did the work. During the long period
earls of Northampton were recorders their chief duty
have been to provide annually a most lavish entertainment
umerous members of the corporation. The accounts remind
is year by year, for on that occasion several pounds of the
money were usually spent on presents to the Earl of
npton's servants.

ng all this period of honorary recorders there was a con-
succession of duly appointed deputy recorders, who were
t of the chamberlain's funds, and in those accounts are
simply styled "recorders."

May 11th, 1663, the court of aldermen appointed William
Esq., councillor-at-law, counsel for the corporation at the
tanding fee as heretofore He was appointed on the
endation of Sir Richard Raynsford, knt., serjeant-at-law,
signed after twenty years' service owing to accepting a
ent appointment in Ireland.

March 8th, 1688, the court of aldermen elected Robert
town counsel at the usual standing fee, to be paid out of
mber stock.

691 it is stated that the recorder's (deputy) salary is
od., and that of the "town council," which was an office
also held by the deputy, £2 3s. od. In 1705 Mr. Danvers
order, and Mr. Breton town counsel.

On October 8th, 1713 it was resolved that "whereas Robert Breton Esq., the late Towne Counsel, has left this Towne It is Ordered and agreed by the mayor and aldermen that Knightley Danvers Esq be Towne Counsel in his roome, and that he be paid the Salary and accustomed fee."

On August 26th 1714, the court of aldermen requested Mr Recorder Danvers to draw up an address to the king.

In 1722 the corporation augmented the salary of Mr Danvers "deputy recorder and town counsel," from six guineas to ten guineas. In 1741 Edward Cuthbert succeeded to both offices at a like fee. The following is a list of the other deputy recorders including the celebrated name of the assassinated premier Perceval: 1741 Bruce Bertie, 1765, Thomas Caldecott, 1774, Simon Adams 1787, Spencer Perceval, 1807, William Braunston, and 1810 Jem Beauclerk. On Mr Beauclerk's appointment, the salary was raised to £31 10s. 0d.

All the above are also described as "Town Counsel" or "Town Counsel," a position which entitled them to certain fees in times of litigation.

CORONERS.

The Northampton charter of 1200 provided that four of the most lawful and discreet men of the borough should be chosen by the common council to keep the pleas of the crown and to see that the three reeves justly and lawfully treated both poor and rich. These were the four coroners, thus called from keeping the pleas of the crown; their duties were similarly defined in the charter of 1227.

The coroner was an official of considerable importance, and the popular appointment to such an office, both in counties and towns, was an important feature of English liberties. In 1276 the wide powers and duties of the coroner were fully defined by act of parliament. In addition to the duty and holding of inquests in all cases of sudden, violent, or suspicious deaths, the coroner was also to inquire, through a jury, into cases of wounding, housebreaking, rape, "riotously hauntyng tavernes," treasure trove, wrecks, and arson. Most of the duties, however, herein assigned to the coroner, gradually fell into other hands (as local justices became more generally appointed), or were shared with other conservators of the peace. When Henry VII, at the beginning of his reign, bewailed that "murders and sleyinge of his subjects daily increase," elaborate measures were taken to ensure the better fulfilment of

what was obviously then regarded as the chief part of the coroner's duty. The county coroner, too, was expected to sit with the sheriff in his county court, and under certain circumstances to act in his stead; and it was expressly reserved to the coroner or coroners, in the old county court, to give judgment and make proclamations in cases of outlawry. Town coroners thus acted with or for the sheriff, when the towns were not exempt from county jurisdiction. At Northampton, however, the two bailiffs possessed full sheriff powers within the liberties, and consequently the coroners sat on such occasions with the bailiffs.

As has been already remarked, no two English towns were precisely alike in their powers and methods of jurisdiction. A special feature of Northampton procedure was the somewhat unusual incident of possessing four coroners. Many old towns of much larger population only possessed two. King John was particularly attached to Northampton, and seems to have given it four popularly-elected coroners, not only as a mark of favour, but as a token of its growing importance. Ipswich had four coroners conferred upon it at the same time as Northampton.

At Northampton, the coroners, as we shall presently see, were in the habit of sitting at the hustings or weekly court of record, a custom quite unknown in many other boroughs.

Another Northampton singularity was that questions of treasure trove came before a jury presided over by the mayor as escheator, and not by the coroner, which was the almost invariable case:—

"In the time of Mr John browne beinge maior annis Regnorum phi' et mar' Regis et Regine ii,do et iiio, wch sayde John browne, sittinge at Guyhall, as escheator for ye soveraine lord and lady kinge Philipe and Quene Mary, Charged a Jury to Enquire of all suche matters as they should be bordened withall upon ther ayes to be sayde Jury. Amonge all other thinges brought in their verdit, sayinge that one Ralf Menard off Northton baker diggeinge for a foundation for a chimney [illegible] the same foundation extd in old money and more they can not sey."

In a few towns, such as the Cinque Ports, there were no coroners, the mayor being definitely authorised to act as coroner during his year of office. Although Northampton had four coroners, the almost invariable function of holding an inquest over treasure trove seems to have been transferred in the sixteenth century, and subsequently to the mayor. The above is no isolated case, for two other treasure trove inquiries are recorded—one of the time of Elizabeth, and another of Charles I.—and in both instances the mayor presided.

The four coroners are first named in the records under the year 1559. The orders of assembly occasionally give full lists of the annual Michaelmas election of officials. The first instance occurs in 1581, when four coroners were elected, and they are again mentioned in 1584, 1585, 1587, 1589, and 1590. From 1592 to 1598 the four coroners are also named, and on numerous subsequent occasions. They were often re-elected, but now and again the whole of them were new to the work. In 1600, and for the two or three following years, the four coroners were chosen (contrary to charter) by only the mayor and aldermen, and the same was repeated in 1627, and continued till 1649. In this last year the mayor and aldermen only elected two coroners, and this small number continued till 1655, when four were again chosen. In 1658, as in the following year, the whole assembly appointed the four coroners.

In 1660 the assembly chose three coroners, but reverted to four in the next year. The selection by mayor and aldermen only was again adopted in 1669, and continued for several years. About 1675 the change to two coroners became established, and they were appointed by the court of aldermen till 1689. From that year till 1722 the assembly appointed; but in 1722 the court of aldermen managed once more to secure the election of the two coroners for themselves, and exercised their claim up to the year 1835. For the last ten years of the old corporation, no mention is made of coroners.

MAGISTRATES.

The reeve or mayor, the two bailiffs and the four coroners were practically magistrates of Northampton from the time of their original appointment; but it is not until 1459 that such an office is definitely mentioned. By the charter of that year, the mayor, on his election, was at once to become a justice or custos to keep the peace.

The charter of 1495, by which a recorder was first definitely appointed, provided that two other of the more honest and more learned of the co-burgesses should be yearly elected by the assembly as justices and keepers of the peace, with the fullest powers. Elizabeth's charter of 1599 enacted that the ex-mayor was to be a justice for the year following his year of office, and that the assembly should also yearly choose a third justice. By the charter of 1796, the mayor, recorder, deputy recorder, ex-mayor, and three

others chosen annually by the assembly from among the aldermen, were to be the town justices or magistrates.

These elected justices had just as full power as if they had been appointed by royal commission. There was no commission of the peace, as has been seen in the first volume, until 1837. Up to that date, every Northampton magistrate was more or less popularly elected.

The orders of assembly, now and again, give the names of the annually-elected justices. The two appointed by the assembly, under the charter of 1495, occur under the years 1581, 1584, 1585, 1587, 1589, and 1592.

In 1600, in accordance with the charter of the previous year, only one justice was elected, the ex-mayor acting as the second one in addition to the mayor. Sometimes a new justice was chosen for several years in succession, but at other times the assembly re-appointed year after year. Thus Francis Fisher was chosen justice in 1630, and continued by re-election year after year till 1642. William Knight was also continuously elected from 1644 to 1648.

STEWARDS.

Every English town had at one time its steward. From the very origin of the word, an official bearing this name acted in the place or *stead* of some high or chief personage. The steward of the ordinary village manor courts presided there instead of, or in the place of the lord of the manor. The stewards of some English boroughs had a variety of different official functions to perform, but where (as was the case at Northampton) it was a town of royal demesne, the steward invariably presided at the court leet for the usual manor court proceedings, and for the imposing of fines on defaulters. In some towns of royal demesne, there might be very little of such work to discharge, owing to the thoroughly town nature of the whole lordship (which was usually placed under other jurisdiction), but much of the space within the walls of Northampton was for a considerable time under cultivation, whilst within the liberties there was a large amount of common land and fields. Hence the Northampton court leet gave the steward plenty of occupation, all such matters as the pounding of cattle, the straying of hogs, the obstructing of paths or watercourses, and the neglecting of fences, or the unauthorised use of sand pits or stone quarries coming before him.

Some of the charters speak of the mayor presiding at the court leet, but that was only a technical statement as he represented the king, the true lord of the manor to whom the court fees and fines were really due. Just as the mayor was the king's representative, so in this court the steward was the mayor's representative. The mayor, of course, could at his pleasure preside at a leet, just as any other lord of a manor.

At Northampton, the steward has also another duty, which was by no means always associated with his office in other royal demesne towns. The steward acted as clerk to the two bailiffs whenever a bailiffs' court was held, the bailiffs' court of Northampton was equivalent, as has been already remarked, to the sheriffs' county court in other parts of the shire.

The steward of Northampton was also usually present at the hustings, or weekly court of record, and throughout Elizabeth's reign, and subsequently frequently appears as a witness of enrolment. In the later appointments the steward is termed "Bailiffs' Clerk of the Court of Record." The town clerk was invariably the true clerk of the hustings, or court of record, over which the mayor presided, but the bailiffs in this Northampton court also sat with the mayor, and the steward was present on those occasions to act as their clerk, and as deputy clerk of the court. It is quite possible to imagine cases in which his presence would be valuable, when matters peculiarly affecting the bailiffs' jurisdiction were under consideration.

The charter of 1685 is the first to definitely name a steward or seneschal. Henry Harris, one of the bailiffs, was appointed steward by that charter "so long as he will demean himself." It was provided that his successor was to be appointed by the common council, an injunction conveniently forgotten by the aldermen, and overlooked by the assembly.

John Brooke was steward of Northampton as early as 1493; and in 1509 the assembly ordered that he and his successors should yearly bring in, between Michaelmas and Hallowtide, a brief note of the records of the court, on parchment, with the names of the mayor and bailiffs for the same year, under a pain of £5 to the use of the chamber.

On the death of John Brooke, senior, in 1502, John Brooke, junior, was elected steward in October of that year, by the

mayor and aldermen; he was to hold the office during his good behaviour and whilst giving satisfaction.

In 1620 William Brook was steward, but we have not been able to ascertain the times of either his appointment or resignation.

At a meeting of the court of aldermen in 1634, Mr. John Reading, described as "Steward or Clerke to the Bayliffs," acknowledged before the mayor and his brethren his defects and slackness in the exercise of the duties of his office, by reason of his much employment elsewhere, and made suit for the office on behalf of Robert Woodforde, his late servant. "Whereupon the Mayor and Aldermen did goe to voyces for an election and by the greater pte of the voyces then taken the said Robert Woodforde was elected and chosen Steward whollie to succeed his Master in the said office." Thereupon Woodforde, after he had taken "his Corporall Oath upon the Holy Evangelists," was formally admitted steward, with the proviso that he was to pay William Brooke (late steward before John Reading) a pension for his life. From another account we learn that Mr. Pilkinton was the rival candidate on this occasion, and that the voting was Woodforde, 9; Pilkinton, 7.

To Robert Woodford succeeded one William Rushton, but we know not the precise year.

Henry Rushton was appointed "Steward and Bailiffs' Clerk of the Records," on the death of his father, William Rushton, in September, 1665, by the court of aldermen.

Mr. Harris was appointed steward by charter in 1683, but on January 17th, 1688, Richard Harris, gentleman, was "by the unanimous Consent of the wholl house," removed from his office of steward to the corporation, and Francis Readinge, gentleman, elected in his place.

On January 14th, 1702-3, the mayor and aldermen elected Mr. John Rose to be "Steward and Bayliffs' Clerke for keeping of the Towne Courts." The bailiffs were ordered at the same time to go to Mrs. Reading's, and demand the books belonging to the steward's office.

Mr. John Rose resigned in 1712, and on September 19th, of that year, the mayor and aldermen met at Thomas Martin's coffee house, and elected in his room as "Steward and Bayliffs' Clerk of the Court of Record," Mr. John Stoakes.

Henry William Markham, attorney-at-law, was elected town steward or bailiffs' clerk on May 26th, 1768, by the mayor and aldermen, in the room of John Rowell, deceased. His duties are defined as "the keeping of the sessions and other Courts of the corporation and town of Northampton."

In January 1776 the court of aldermen elected Mr. John Markham "Steward and Bailiffs' Clerk for keeping the Court of Sessions and other Courts of this Corporation," in room of his father, Mr. Henry William Markham, the late steward.

In 1783 the same court ordered that an armed seat be prepared for the steward for his use in All Saints' church, next to the chamberlain, in the upper bailiffs' pew.

A list of the stewards is given in the appendix.

Court of Record or Hustings.

The first charter, of 1189, ordered that the hustings or town court of record should be held once a week. This ancient court was presided over by the reeve or mayor, and is also specially mentioned in the charters of 1200 and 1227. The later charters of 1618 and 1796 show that this court concerned itself in pleas, plaints, and actions, as well real as personal and mixed, and all manner of debts, accounts, trespasses, covenants, contracts, detentions, and contempts.

Although no definite records of this court remain, there are a number of enrolments of contracts entered into before the mayor and others in both the great books of orders of assembly. There are a large number of Elizabethan enrolments, with other examples down to the time of George I. From the earliest of these entries, which are in Latin up to 1602, we find that this court was usually held before the mayor, two bailiffs, and two of the coroners, which is expressly stated to have been "the custome of the towne of Northampton." The town clerk invariably made the enrolments and acted as clerk to the court, but the steward was likewise usually present. The mayor's sergeant, or serjeant of the mace, was also in attendance. On two occasions, in the first book, all four coroners were present, in addition to the mayor and both the bailiffs, and two instances occur in which only one coroner attended. At a later period the court was generally composed of only the mayor and two bailiffs. Two coroners sat in this court throughout the Commonwealth, four in 1662, and three in 1664.

These enrolments show that two distinct kind of actions led to the use of the court of record. Sometimes it was simply desired that, for greater security, a copy of some binding indenture or covenant of a local character, should be made and entered on the town rolls, and this could be effected by any one on payment of certain fees. Other enrolments, however, were of the nature of recording definite contracts and agreements entered into before the court and sometimes after, previous private examination of the parties concerned by the mayor. On some occasions it is stated in the enrolled contract that the mayor and other members of the court had visited the premises, when real property was involved, or had actually stood at the street door, to witness peaceable possession being taken of houses by new owners.

The ordinary enrolment was usually sealed by the common seal, or mayor's seal, of the town and by the seals of both parties seeking enrolment. In the instances, however, of special contracts before the court, the following was an interesting and very usual formula:—"And because their hands and seals to many are unknown therefore they procured the seal of the office of maioraltie of the saide towne to this indenture, to be affixed for the greater creditt and testimonie of the premises."

Orphans' Court.

In almost all large towns, the mayor (usually in association with the aldermen) presided over an orphans' court, whereby the town became responsible for the due care of all orphans within their liberties during their minority. In certain boroughs, notably at Bristol, highly interesting and early records of the proceedings of such courts have been preserved, but this is, unfortunately, not the case with Northampton. The old use at Northampton was for the mayor in this court to be associated with the two chamberlains, and not with the aldermen or bailiffs.

The charter of 1618 provides that the mayor and his brethren were to have the custody and government of the orphans and infants in the town, and to guard their goods, chattels, and legacies in the same manner as was done in the city of London. Subsequent charters, as can be seen in the first volume, make like provision for the orphans of burgesses. There are a few scattered references to the affairs of the orphans of Northampton in both the orders of assembly and in the minutes of the aldermen's court, but there is only one which is worth transcribing.

At an assembly held on March, 22nd, 1581-2, the following order was made —

"Firste it is agreed by consent as ys aforesaide, That whereas heretofore vyz^t in Anno Do. 1557, there hath been established diverse good and godlye Orders for the Orphantes within the towne of Northampton and the liberties of the same as in the boke of Recorde for Orphantes at large appeareth, And for that the saide Orders hath ben by some misused of and partly by some refused to be kept. Nowe therefore considering the greate necessitie of the same Orders to be performed. We doe establishe by these presentes for ever That the said boke of Orders for Orphantes shalbe according to the trewe meaninge of the same Orders observed and kepte And that whosoever being free of the same towne and Refusinge the observation of the saide Orders at anye tyme hereafter shalbe by the maior for the tyme being comytted to prison until he or they shall and will observe the same."

The following oath of the mayor as president of the orphans' court is taken from the Bateman copy of the Northampton customary in the British Museum. It is of Elizabethan date, and is of interest as illustrating the procedure.

THE OATHE OF THE MAYOR FOR ORPHANTES

And also you shall truely execute and kepe the orders and constitucions heretofore made concerninge orphanes goodes in all poynctes that thereto be longinge. And also that you shall once in youre time of youre office of maiorthe Enquire of and of the sureties of eny Executor or Executors to whom his or there Testators did put in trust for the sayde orphanes goods be dead or otherwise shall fortune to be decayed in his or there substaunce. That then you shall thereupon take such order for the same as by youre discresion shall seme to be thought good so that the saide orphanes may be in assurance off their saide goodes and legacies according to their parentes wyll and bequest. And further that you shall call before you and the chamberlaines off the saide Towne for the tyme being the Twelve in the first weke off lent in the time of youre saide office maiorthe all and every suche persone or persones as shall then stande and be bounde as every sureties or sureties for and concerninge the saide orphanes goodes to thintent that you may see the saide sureties and every of them allwaies to be sufficient and able to discharge their saide bondes according to yor wyll and discression.

STATUTE MERCHANT

The statute of merchants, or the statute of Acton Burnell (as it is sometimes called, from the Shropshire village where the parliament met) was passed in 1283. Its object was to encourage trade by providing a more speedy way for the recovery of debts. The statute enabled the merchant to register his trade bargain with his debtor before the mayor and clerk of a limited number of chief boroughs, acknowledging the debt and stating the day of payment. The recognizance was to be entered on a roll by the clerk, and sealed with the debtor's seal and also with the king's seal

kept for that purpose by the mayor and clerk. If the debt was not paid on the appointed day, the mayor was to forthwith cause the inovables of the debtor to be sold as far as the amount of the debt, "at the preysinge of honest men."

Two years later this statute was further expanded. It was then ordered that the king's seal for statute merchant purposes was to be in two parts, the larger part in the custody of the mayor, and the smaller part in the custody of the clerk. Power of confining the debtor in the town prison until he had agreed for the debt was also granted.

New Ordinances" affecting these statutes were made by Edward II., on September 27th, 1311, when it was proposed to restrict this taking of debtor's recognizances to twelve towns, viz., Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Newcastle, Northampton Norwich, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Southampton, and York. From the actual wording of the two statutes, and the explanatory ordinances, it is not quite certain whether Northampton obtained the debtor's recognizances privilege in 1283, or not till 1311, but our own opinion is that Northampton was one of the first small group of boroughs that obtained and used a statute merchant's seal so soon as the first act was passed. It will strictly be noted that Northampton obtained a seal in 1319, but there seems reason to believe that this was a renewal.

The Northampton charter of 1618 stated that mayors of the town from time beyond memory had received recognizances between merchants, and made execution according to the statutes of Edward I., definitely confirmed those privileges; and nominated the town clerk to be clerk of these recognizances. Subsequent charters, as has been set forth in the first volume, confirmed these rights. It was usual in every borough for the town clerk to be clerk of the statute merchant, though the latter appointment was legally reserved for the crown.

The sealing fees under this statute, though small, were an appreciable advantage to both mayor and clerk in busy trading times.

At the assembly held on October 26th, 1536, the chamberlains were henceforth to collect all manner of sums of money such as fines forfeitures, and amercements, within the town, save the mayor's sealing profits (under statute merchant); and if it should fortune that more than twenty marks be gathered, the overplus

was to remain to the chamber, and the twenty marks to be paid to the mayor; but if it should fortune that there should be less than twenty marks, that then that sum should be handed to the mayor for his own proper use and property and no more.

Unfortunately there are no records or rolls of these recognizances until we come to the end of last century; but the first orders of assembly contains the following entries of the opening years of Elizabeth's reign :—

M^d q^d xvi^th die m'tij Anno Regin dne Elizabethe Anglie Frauncie et Hibernie p'mo, Henricus Clark nuper Weston favell gen'osus venit Coram Johe Lowe maire vile Northton et cognovit se debere Anne Clark matri sue de Potterspane Centum libras sterling', Solvend' in festo pasche p xo futur' per statutum mercatorus.

M^d q^d p mo die octobris A° Secundo Regine Elizabethe Willmus Barnam de Starton in Com' Northton husbondmen venit coram Thoma Hopkyns maiore vile Northton et cognovit se debere Johe Spencer de Althrope multi ij C li sterling' solvend' ad festum Sancti Luce p x futur' per statutum mercatoris

M^d q^d Quinto die m'tij A° tertio Regine Elizabethe Thomas Willoby de Wardington in Com' Oxon gen'us venit Coram Thoma Hopkins maiore vile Northton et cognovit se debere Willo Chauncie Armigor ducentes m'cas ad festum pasche p'x' futur per statutum mercatoris.

M^d the xviij day off October A° dni 1561 Mr. Burnby cam to Mr Thomas Coles maior and Mr. William Taylor Justice off peace and brought in a statute merchant and v^li of mony w^t a defesant, sic quietus.

In 1583 the mayor resolved to accept no sealing fees of statute merchant from merchants who were freemen of the town; but this was not an "order of assembly," and seems to have been only a personal act of generosity during his term of office.

In the case of an intruding sheriff in 1649, it was stated that his offence consisted "in serving an extent upon a statute merchant."

The references to Sir Thomas White's loan, about 1650 to 1660, generally state that security was given by statute merchant.

A folio calf-bound book, numbered 101 in Mr. Stuart Moore's arrangement, contains copies of the recognizances by statute merchant from 1783 to 1803. The earlier forms are of great length, and recited that the proceedings were based on "the Statutes for Recognizances and Assurances of Debts of Merchants made and provided in the eleventh and thirteenth years of the Reign of King Edward the first after the Conquest." About 1795 a briefer form was used, of which this is an example:

"Be it remembered On the 27th day of Sept. in the 37 Year of George the 3^d, 1797, John Cooch of the T. of Northton in the Co of Northton Carp^r, and Wm Cole of the said Town Victualer,

came before Chas Smith Esqr Mayor and John Jeyes Gent Town Clerk of Northampton and acknowledged themselves jointly and severally b^d by Statute Merchant to Wm Gibson, Robt Trasler, Ja^s Miller, and Jeremiah Briggs Merchants in £100 sterling for Merchandizes bought to be paid on the 25th day of March next."

STAPLE MERCHANTS AND INVENTORIES.

The statute merchants, and statutes relative to them, came into existence for the purpose of regulating foreign exports, chiefly of wool and leather. The merchants of the staple secured a monopoly, and its system was a combination of the principles of a trading guild and of the crown privileges of establishing fairs and markets. The towns of the staple were centres for the collection, trial, and assessment of the goods. The system began in the reign of Edward I., when he established the foreign wool trade at Antwerp. In Edward II.'s time the merchants had their foreign staples at Antwerp, and afterwards at St. Omer, and their home staples at central towns, such as Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Exeter, Bristol, and London.

The statute of Northampton, in 1328, did away, however, for a time with the monopolies of the staple, and trade was set free. After a good deal of fluctuation, the system was re-imposed and consolidated by the elaborate ordinance of the staples in 1354. By this statute the number of home staples, both in England and Ireland was defined, and also the particular ports from whence the goods from each staple should be exported. It also provided that the mayor of every staple town should have instant power (more speedy and summary than even under statute merchant) of arresting the body of a debtor to a staple merchant, and of immediately selling his goods at appraisement, or delivering them to the creditor, providing the debtor and his goods was within that staple and if not, certificate under seal was to be forwarded to chancery.

Subsequently Calais became the chief staple for English produce, and for two centuries was the wholesale mart for the distribution of English wool and leather over western Europe.

After the loss of Calais, in the time of Queen Mary, the staple system was thrown into confusion, and for a time Northampton was considered a staple town, and its mayor exercised staple jurisdiction under the ordinance of 1354.

On folio 233 of the first great book of the orders of assembly,

just after an unhappy gap of no fewer than 66 pages, occurs the following entry :—

A° Dni 1561.

The Recorde and testimonie of atachement by John Freeman off Northampton merchant of the staple in the time of Thomas Hopkins then being maiour of the goodes and monse of one William Algar merchant of the staple as hereafter doth appear, viz

M^d the First daie off marche in the third yere off the Reigne of our soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabethe, John Freeman merchant of the staple cam before Mr Thomas Hopkins maiour And Mr William Taylor justice of peace there and Required the moneye and goodes of one William Algor merchant off the staple to be atached in the handes off one Henry Summers merchant off the staple to the some of iij^xxli sterlinge to the use of one John Freawton Citizen and Haberdasher off Lundon by virtue of A Lettre of attornay made unto the seide John Freeman From London, sealed and subscribed w^t the hand of the seide John Freawton dated the xxiiij^th daie of february A° Regni dne Regine Elizabethe tertio and so atached the day and yere above written by one Edward Jackson serjeant at the mace by wey of process, at Northton, et non alias.

teste Johe Saxby, Clerico ibm

The following inventories of goods of debtors seized and valued by the authority of the mayor are given on several pages of the first order book almost immediately following the last extract We believe that all of them represent action taken under the merchant staple acts, but it is possible that they may refer to valuations under the less summary jurisdiction of statute merchant At all events they are worth transcribing in full as giving a good idea of the contents of the shops and houses of Northampton drapers in early Elizabethan days. They are given in the order in which they are copied into the great volume :

M^d q^d in festo Sci Hugonis a° 1562 Wilmus Pym et Wilmus Chambers venerunt coram Radulpho Menard maiore ville Northton et petierunt bona Rob Gawdern apr et per sacramentum Willi Goodwyn at Richardi Marriot apr vz vz :—

In primis in the stabill iij Lode of Wood	x^s
Item iij Lode of hey	xviij^s
Item xiij elles of packinge	iij^s

"Packing," a thin canvas used for covers and the sides of meat safes

Item xvij elles of whit Lancksshire Clothe	xj^s viij^d
Item iij elles of Canvas	iij^s
Item vj elles of hurden	vj^d

"Hurden," a strong coarse cloth, made from the refuse of flax or hemp

Item a dosen of shirt Collers	ij^s
Item xij neckcolliers for children	ij^s
Item ij baggers ij Coyffes and a handkerchelle	xvj^d
Item of hullen Clothe ij elles and a quartern ...	ij^s viij^d

Item a plate coate ... ... v[s]
Item a firkin of Sope ... ... viij[s]
Item iij girdles... ... ... xj[d]
Item ij bondles of ynckell weyinge a quartern ... ... iiij[d]
"Yuckell," or inkle, a cheap kind of coarse tape or binding.
Item xiij elles of vallans ... ... ij[s] iiij[d]
"Vallans," a light kind of drapery, named from Valencia, in Spain.
Item a dosen halffe of boo stringes ... ... iiij[d]
Item xij elles of pack clothes .. .. xvj[d]
Item iij litell broken coffers ... ... vj[d]
Item ij chestes and ij coffers in the shoppe ... ... x[s]
Item viij shelf bordes ... ... iij[s] iiij[d]
Item a old pack saddell and a wantye ... . xx[d]
"Wantye," a leather strap, or sometimes a rope, with which the pack was secured on a pack horse.
Item iiij barrelles and a strak ... ... ij[s]
"Strak," or strake, a piece of iron, usually the rim of a wheel.
Item the wood in kitchen and the yarde and the strete ... ... x[s]
Item a old Cobord and lynen whole in the kitchin .. .. iiij[s]
Item a boltinge tobe a cowle and a pale in the kitchin ... ij[s]
"Boltinge tobe," or bolting tub, the wooden receptacle into which meal was sifted.
Item iij old barrelles and a broken coffar in the kitchin ... ... xij[d]
Item a paire of trestelles in bordes w[t] the polles ... . ij[s] iiij[d]
Item a selinge bed in the chamber ... . x[s]
Item a mattres a blanchet and a coverlet ... ... vj[s] viij[d]
Item ij bolsters and a pillo .. .. ij[s]
Item a cobord in the chamber .. .. xiij[s] iiij[d]
Item iij coffers in the chamber ... ... iiij[s]
Item a tabell a form two trestelles and a benche ... ... vj[s]
Item ij cheres in the chamber ... . xij[d]
Item a table standinge against the bedsted in the chamber ... ... vij[d]
Item a bras pot and a litell kettill ... ... iiij[s]
Item iiij pewter disshes and a platter ij sawsers ... ... iiij[s]
Item a boo and vi aroos... ... ... ij[s] vj[d]
Item a payre of tonges, a payre of pot hokes, a cheyne, a payre off bellos, a fleshe hoke ... ... ij[s]
Item in the chamber ij bedstedes ... ... v[s]
Item xij Ropes of onyons ... ... xij[d]
Item ij paire of shetes ij table napkins and a towell ... .. ij[s] viij[d]
Item v painted clothes in the hall ... . v[s]
Item vij potes ... ... iiij[d]
Item a tobe and ij bordes and kandelstick .. .. ij[s]
Item a paire of botes and a old jerkin .. .. viij[d]
Item a painting selinge .. .. xvj[d]
Item the lease of the house ... ... iij[li]
Item a boke of Davy Salmes ... ... vj[d]
"Davy Salmes," the psalms of David.
Som .. ..xij[li] vj[s] vj[d]

A Inventrie of Certen Goodes of Robert Gawderns beinge in Rafe Marsh handes, praysed by Richard Garnet and William Barnard the xviij^th day November A° 1562, viz.:—

Imprimis vj dozen of Vitry Canvas at x^d ... ... iij^li

"Vitry," subsequently spelt Viteris, Vyterys, etc., was a special sort of fine canv originally imported from Vitré in Brittany.

Item xij elles of holland at xij^d... ... ... xij^s

Item xij elles of holland at xv^d ... ... xv^s

Item xij elles of holland at xv^d . ... xv^s

Item vj elles of holland at xvij^d .. . . viij^s vi^d

Item vj elles of holland at xij^d .. .. vi^s

Item xxiiij ells dollas at xij^d ... ... xxiiij^s

"Dollas," or dowlas, a linen cloth imported from Brittany.

Item a black gowne furred wth badger .. .. xxx^s

Item xxiij elles iij quarters myddleclothe . ... xx^s

Som ... ...ix^li x^s 6^d

The Inventorie of Certen parcelles of Goodes lately belonginge unto Georg Andres, late of Northampton, grocer, praised by John Fletcher and William Barna upon ther othes the xvj^th day of November A° 1562, viz.:—

First, iiij platters, v pewter dishes, fyve sawsers, ij porringers, a litel salt seller, poiz xxvj^li at vij^d le li ... ... xv^s ix^d

Item a chaffern, poiz, xij^li at iiij^d le li... ... ... iiij^s ij^d

Item a great pan weinge viij^li at v^d a li ... . iij^s vi^d

Item a litel kettill, weyinge j^li and a quarter at v^d le li ... ... vi^d

Item ij brasse potes, poiz xvj^li, at iiij^d a li ... ... v^s iiij^d

Item a little postnet poiz at v^d le li . . .. v^d

"Postnet," or posnet, a little pot.

Item ij Candelstiches ... ... xvj^d

Item a dornicke coverlet ... ... iiij^s

"Dornicke," or darnex, a coarse sort of damask used generally for curtains, original made at Tournay, which was called in Flemish Dornick.

Item a flock bed . .. . v^s iiij^d

Item a whit blancket ... ... vij^d

Item a whit coverlet ... ... iiij^s

Item ij bolsters ... . iiij^s

Item ij pillos . .. . xvj^d

Item a childe blanket red .. .. xij^d

Item a frock of black Clothe w^t iij course of pinne lace ... xxxiii^s iiij^d

Item a worsted Frock ... ... xx^s

Item a worsted kertill over bordered w^t black damask ... ... xij^s

Item iiij yardes playne clothe motheeton . ... ii^s viij^d

Item iiij white playne carson ... ... viij^s

"Carson," probably silk riband.

Item a white peticot .. .. xii^d

Item a childe blancket ... ... viij^d

Item xi bookes and a old service booke ... ... ij^s

Item a smock ... ... viij^d

Item ij swathing bandes ... ... viij^{d}
Item ij bolsters .. .. vj^{d}
Item a quire of whit paper ... ... ij^{d}
Item a little boxe ... ... ij^{d}
Item ij paire of course shetes ... ... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item a paire of Cobbordes, a spit, a gridiron, a paire of pothokes, a frienge fan, a rack to hang a pot on, weyinge xxix^{li} at ij^{d} le li iiij^{s} x^{d}
Item ij wollen wheles ... ... ij^{s}
"Woollen Wheels," spinning or winding wheels.
ij dosen and a halfe olde trenshers ... ... iiij^{d}
A bowkinge tobbe ... ... iii^{d}
A ale tobbe... ... ... iiij^{d}
A kymmell ... ... ij^{d}
"Kymmel," or kimmel, a tub for any household purpose.
A Sope fyrkin .. .. ij^{d}
A wollen rele .. .. iiij^{d}
ij grene cofyrs ... ... ij^{d}
A grene benche clothe .. .. iiij^{d}
A cradele ... ... viij^{d}
A stock bagge .. .. v^{d}
A half quarter sacke ... ... ij^{d}
Som totle ... ... vij^{li} vj^{s} ix^{d} ob

The Invitory of the Goodes of William Brightwen, arested by Anthony Brien, grosser, and praised the xj^{d} day of Marche in the third and fourth yeres of the Reignes of Kynge Phillipe and Quene Mary, by Edward Manley, Henry Wenley, Richard Garnet, Henry Deny as foloweth . –

In the shope.

Imprimis halfe a fardell of vyterys... ... ... v^{li} x^{s}
"Fardell," or fardel, a bundle or burden.
Item vii yardes iij quarters of floxe at v^{d} ... ... iij^{s} ij^{d} ob
Item iiij yardes of grene at xiij^{d} ... . iiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item ii yardes of blewe .. .. xvj^{d}
Item ix yardes of Red Russett at xvi^{d} a yard ... ... xij^{s}
Item ii yardes of Black Russett... ... . iij^{s} viij^{d}
Item j yarde of Russett ... ... xij^{d}
Item xvj yardes of Jene Fustian... .. .. xij^{s}
Item xij yardes of holland at x^{d} ... ... x^{s}
Item xv elles holland and a d. at xj^{d} ... ... xiiij^{s} ij^{d} ob
Item viij elles holland at ix^{d} ob .. .. xi^{s} iiij^{d}
Item xvj elles holland at ix ... ... xij^{s} iiij^{d} ob
Item xx elles holland at viij^{d} ob ... ... xiij^{s} ij^{d}
Item iij elles holland at xiij^{d} ... ... iij^{s} ix^{d}
Item iiij elles of holland at x^{d} ob ... . iij^{s} xj^{d}
Item iij elles holland at x^{d} ... . ij^{s} vj^{d}
Item ij elles of holland at ix^{d} ... ... xxij^{d} ob

Item a pound of hotnoll thread ... ... xxij^{d}

"Hotnoll thread," possibly a corruption from Otley, Yorks., where thread was made.

Item v^{xx} xvij ownces viteres at ix^{d} .. .. iiij^{li} vij^{s} ix^{d}

Item xxiij elles of viterys at vij^{d} ob .. .. xv^{s} iij^{d}

Item xl elles wandlas at ix^{d} ob ... . xxxi^{s} viij^{d}

"Wandlas," a cloth imported from the Netherlands.

Item xl elles wandlas at ix^{d} ... ... xxx^{s}

Item xix elles wandlas at x^{d} ob .. .. xvi^{s} vij^{d}

Item xl elles and q^{r} wandlas at ix^{d} ... . xxx^{s} ij^{d}

Item halfe a pece off meddyll Clothe . ... xxxiiij^{s}

Item liiij elles meddill clothe at xiij^{d} ob ... ... xxxviij^{s} iij^{d}

Item v^{xx} and x elles medilclothe at xiij^{d} ... ... iij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item xiij elles and q^{r} medylclothe at viid ob... ... . viij^{s} iij^{d}

Item ix elles iij q^{rs} dolas at x^{d} ob ... ... viij^{s} vi^{d}

Item xlvi elles of dolas at x^{d} .. .. xxxviij^{s} ix^{d}

Item xxx elles iij q^{rs} normandy at ix^{d} ... ... xxiij^{s}

"Normandy," another kind of Normandy wove cloth.

Item xxiij elles normandy at vij^{d} ob ... ... xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item xxxix elles 3 q^{rs} normandy at vij^{d} ... ... xxiij^{s} ij^{d}

Item xxv elles q^{r} normandie at vi^{d} ob... ... ... xiij^{s} vij^{d}

Item liij elles normandie at vj^{d} ... ... xxvij^{s}

Item iiij fosers at ... ... xx^{d}

"Foser," or forcer, a small chest or coffer.

Item ij chestes at . .. . xxvi^{s} viij^{d}

Item the shelff borde and the vallaunce ... ... vi^{s} viij^{d}

Item iiii packe clothes ... ... xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item iiij crisomes at ... ... xx^{d}

"Crisome," or chrisom, the white cloth put about a child at its baptism, and worn for a mon

Item the canvas that hanges the bordes .. .. xx^{d}

Item v paire of women's hose ... ... xx^{d}

Item a Canvas shete ... ... xij^{d}

Item the end borde and the stall borde ... ... ij^{s} iiij^{d}

Som ... ...xxx ix^{li} ix^{s} ij^{d}

In the hall.

Imprimis a Round Cobord at ... ... xij^{s}

Item a square Cobord at ... ... xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item a frame table at ... ... viij^{s}

Item a bedsted wt a tester at ... ... xvjs

Item a fetherbed A bolster ij Coveringes of Carpet work ij mattres the cortaynes and a Frame settall ... ... xliiij^{s}

Item xxxix^{li} pewter at ... ... xxvj^{s} viij^{d}

Item a trondell bed .. .. iiij^{s}

Item ij carpets and v cossens ... ... vij^{s} vjd

"Cossens," cushions.

Item a boffet forme ... ... — ... xx^{d}

Item A chere and ij boffet stoles ... ... ij^{s}

Item iiij painted Clothes at ... ... iiij^{s}

Item A sword and a buckler at ... ... viij^{s}
Item A pollax at ... ... iiij^{s}
"Pollax," pole axe.
Item a payre of aundiorns at ... ... vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item A paire of tonges, A fyerfork, A barr off Iorn, A grediorn w^{t} A Rak for a pot at ... ... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Som ... ... ix^{li} xiij^{d}

In the Chamber w^{t}in the hall.

Item A fetherbed A bolster, A mattress, A coveringe the Cortaines w^{t} the tester at ... ... xxx^{s}
Item a bedsted at ... ... iiij^{s}
Item a Close stole at ... ... ij^{s}
Item a mans gowne at ... ... xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item ij Coffers at ... ... viij^{s}
Item a Cobord at... ... ... v^{s}
Item ij painted Clothes ... ... vj^{s}
Item iij paire of flaxen shetes at ... ... xviij^{s}
Item a paire of houllen sheets ... ... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item half a dosen of napkyns at ... ... iij^{s}
Item ij table clothes and a towell ... ... vij^{s}
Item a man's gown lined w^{t} shamlet at ... ... xl^{s}
Item a clothe cote at ... ... vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item a coveringe and a blanket... ... ... iiij^{s}
Sm. ... ... vij^{li} xvij^{s}

In the chamber over the hall.

Item a trusse bed a coutourpayne cortaine and the hanginges at ... xij^{s}
Item a coffer, a cradle, and a bedsted ... ... vj^{s} viij^{d}
Som ... ... xxix^{s} iiij^{d}

In the parler.

Item a table w^{t} a carpet ... ... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item a benche at ... ... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item the painted clothes at ... ... ij^{s} viij^{d}
Item a serples at ... ... xvj^{d}
Som ... ... x^{s} viij^{d}

In the Cetchyn.

Item ij brassepots ... ... xx^{s}
Item ij panes at ... ... xij^{s}
Item a kettell and a skyllet at ... ... xij^{s}
"Skyllet," a small metal pot with a long handle.
Item a dryppinge pan a frying pan a spyt a pere of pothokes a skomer ... ... iiij^{s} iiij^{d}
"Skomer," skimmer.
Item a pan ... ... ij^{s}
Item iiij^{s} Candelstickes at ... ... ij^{s}
Som ... ... xlij^{s}

In the Taverne.

Item a chest and v bordes and poles and old woods w[d] a Rope . . xx[s]
Item a horse brydell or saddell and brydell . . . . xxx[s]
Item wood at the garden at ... ...xlvj[s] viij[d]
Item hey at the stable ... ... xij[s]
Sm . ... v[li] viij[s] vij[d] ob
Som Tot. of this Invitorie am[t] .. ... lxv[li] viij[s] ob

Saxby

The Mayor as Arbitrator.

In the case of civil disputes, the mayor of Northampton had the power, if both parties accepted his intervention, of appointing arbitrators to make a full investigation into the points of difference, and their award was to be final and binding. Two sixteenth century instances of the exercise of this power have found their way into the first volume of the orders. The first of these occurred during the mayoralty of Henry Neale in 1553. The mayor appointed two arbitrators, and their award was entered and witnessed by the town clerk, its truth and justice having first been testified by the arbitrators on oath. It is rather curious to note that in this case the dispute arose concerning land at Moulton, and the litigants were of Moulton and Moulton Park respectively. Messrs Tresham and Haynes were both, however, freemen of Northampton, hence the mayor's jurisdiction.

The Record and testymonye off Thomas Latham off Moulton parke and Thomas Ellys of Moulton of and for certayn covenantes and bargaynes between Mr. George Tresham and William Haynes.

We the said Thomas and Thomas do wytnes that the seyde William Heynes did covenant and graunt to the seyde Mr. Tressarm a parcell off grounde belongyng to the manor off Multon callyd Over flynt Landes Reservyng the thornes growynge upon the same unto the seyde William.

Item at the same time aforesaid did graunt to the seyde Mr. Tressam a closse belonginge to the seyde mannor called kyghtburye, the wiche closse upon further Comunycation at the same tyme he Released to the seyde William for a other parcel grounde belongynge to the same mannor callyd Damslade condytionally that if he the seyde William did let the closse to any man the said Mr. Tressam to have it beffore any other.

Item That Mr. Tressam shuld have all the Conyes beinge and increasynge within the closse callyd Conyngrye at all times payinge therffore to the seyde William xxx[ti] cowples of Conyes yerlye at soche time as the seyde William will Requyre them gvyinge the keper iij or iiij dayes warnynge for the takynge off them.

Item yff fortuned any Conyes to brede in forsters closse the seyde William to have them to his own use in wytness of the premysses we the parties aboveseyde have subscribed our names.

Also vijth daie off Aprill in the vijth yere off the reign of our soveraign lorde kynge Edward syxt Thomas Latham and Thomas Ellis withyn namyd cam before me Henry Neale mayor off the towne of Northton and then sworne do testifye upon their othes that all the covenauntes within written be just and true

Saxby

The second instance is an award made between two townsmen in 1555 by four arbitrators who were appointed for that purpose by the mayor, Mr. William Taylor :—

The awarde of John Harpoll, Henry Prior, Thomas Hopkyns, and Marke Bugby made the xix^th Daie of may in the first and seconde yeares of the Reignes of king philipe and quene marie Of and concernyng all maanor of matters depending in variaunce between Thomas Morley, Tannar, and John Walker, barber, as folowthe :—

First the seide arbitrors do awarde that the seide Thomas Morley and John Walker shalbe from hensforthe lovers and Frends.

Also they do awarde that the housse that John Weston, Tannar, doth dwell in shall Remayne to the use of Thomas Morley and his heires for ever, and that John Walker shalbe thereby discharged thereof.

Also they do awarde that Thomas Morley the seide John Weston and Annys his wife and the longer lyver of them to inhabit and dwell in his howsse without suite gate From the day of making of this awarde during their lyves naturall and the longer lyver of them, yelding and paying therfor yerely to the seide Thomas Morley and his assignees xiij^s iij^d and the seide Thomas Morley shall warrant the seide housse to the seide John Weston against all men during the seide terme and shall kepe all Reperacons of the saide howsse during the terme aforeseide at his owne proper Costes and Charges

Also they do awarde that the Rent of xiij^s and iiij^d shalbe paide quarterly at every quarter or within xiij daies after every of the quarter daies and if the Rent be unpaide at any of the seide quarter daies, if it be lawffully asked then it shall be lawffull for the seide Thomas Morley to Reenter and Repossess and enioye the saie housse as he had in his Former estate and if the rent be lawffully asked, also they do awarde that this arbitraement shalbe enrollyde for the assurauncc of the seide John Weston, In witnes wherof the seide arbitrors have set their seales, the daie and yeare above writon

Saxby.

The Mayor as Escheator.

The mayor of Northampton, as was usual with towns on the royal demesne, seems to have been the king's escheator within the liberties from the first foundation of the office; but the escheatorship was not a chartered privilege until 1445. The subsequent charters of 1452, 1459, 1618, and 1683, all definitely confirm this right

An escheat—a Norman-French word meaning chance or accident—signified an obstruction in the course of descent of real property,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the Kynge [illegible] you shall truelie and right wiselie [illegible] the Bayliewyke and doe right to everie man as [illegible] belongeth to you to doe by way of yor office [illegible] for gulte promise noe [illegible] shall [illegible] you shall take noe thing whereby the right may be [illegible] delayed. You shall truelie and right wiselie [illegible] and serve [illegible] you shall in yor proper person make the [illegible] of Jaoles [illegible] and Inquestes [illegible] as often as they be taken before you, [illegible] shall take noe Baylife into yor [illegible] will [illegible] for, and you shall doe yor Baylife to make [illegible] you shall truelie and right wiselie yelde accompte [illegible] all the [illegible] of your Bayliewyke, you shall take yor [illegible] the effecte of the statute thereof made, [illegible]

[illegible] the office of escheator was a real [illegible] and saved the better class of townsmen [illegible] Probably the mayor of Northamp- [illegible] a small salary from the exchequer.

for the discharge of his duties as escheator, and he undoubtedly made full annual returns to the barons of the exchequer at Westminster, but eventually these fines were allowed to be retained by the mayor for his own payment and for the good of the town. This latter course was most likely permitted after 1478, when the mayor ceased to be sworn at Westminster. The idea in permitting the town to retain these and other fines was that the annual fee farm rent was an equivalent to the crown for all such favours. The real truth was that the collection and passing on to the crown of escheats or fines over such a small area as the liberties of a town like Northampton was not worth the trouble and cost and chance of peculation that were involved in the transaction. The most lucrative part of an escheator's position was the holding the forfeited goods of felons and this was expressly allowed to the mayor of Northampton.

References are made in the earlier records to the "Mayor's Booke of Escheats," and to the "Roll of the towne escheatore," but unfortunately nothing of that kind is now extant among the Northampton muniments.

The Mayor as Clerk of the Market.

As all markets were grants from the crown, so it came about that the clerk of the market was an important official of the royal household whose duty it was to take charge of the king's weights and measures, to keep properly stamped standards of them all, and to go on circuit, by himself or through deputies, testing the accuracy of the measures in use. In a few cases, even in country districts, there were, by special patent, local clerks of the market, as for instance, throughout most parts of the duchy of Lancaster. A certain number of towns on the royal demesne also obtained the much coveted privilege of having their own clerk of the market.

As early as 1385, the mayor of Northampton obtained the chartered right of control of the weights and measures, and was confirmed in the position of clerk of the market by the charters of 1618, 1683, and 1740. Towns that did not possess this privilege were subject, any day, to the incursion of the King's clerk of the market, who would ride into the market place, accompanied by a troop of attendants carrying all the standard weights and measures. The royal official would insist on testing the town weights and measures at considerable fees, destroying all the faulty ones, and claiming for himself and retinue free board and lodging during

his sojourn, and a fresh relay of horses to take them to the next market town.

From all this inconvenience and possible undue exaction Northampton was saved. On the day that the new mayor entered on his office, he received from his predecessor the standard weights and measures, and almost immediately issued orders through the serjeants that all shopkeepers, bakers, brewers, innholders, and traders should send their weights and measures to the market cross, guildhall, or some appointed place, there to be compared with the standards. A market jury was sworne, and to them would the mayor submit each disputed question as to faulty or fraudulent measures. The fines imposed on offenders went to the common chest. This Northampton jury, previous to the fire, met at the market cross. In the mayor's accounts, for many years, appears the annual charge of ten shillings for the dinner given, at their first summoning, to the market jury. Questions of prices, particularly of corn, were sometimes referred to this jury, as well as the regular assize of bread and beer. Reference will be made in a subsequent section, when describing the market, to the actual weights and measures, as well as to the tumbrell and pillory.

The market fines were to be recovered, if necessary, by distress. The following elaborate order was made by the assembly on August 25th, 1608.—

Whereas upon lawfull inquirie made by Edward Henseman maior of the towne of Northampton and clerke of the market there upon the oath of xij men, presentment ys made of diverse persons defective as well in the keeping of the assize of bread, beere, and ale, and in having of unjust and false weights, as also in diverse other things contrarie to the lawes and statutes of this Realme, and thereupon the offenders by afferors* chosen are affered fyned and amerced As is a booke of Esheates in that behalf made appeareth; It ys nowe ordered that the nowe Chamberlaines of the saide towne of Northampton, together with Edward Smith, nowe serjeant to the mace of the Maior within the saide towne, shall aske and demaunde the saide fynes and amerciaments of everie person in the saide booke of Esheates specified, And for nowe payment thereof that yt shalbe lawfull for the said Chamberlaines and serjeant jointlie and either of them by himself severallie to distraine the same person or persons by their goods and chattels and the distres soe taken to keepe by the space of twoe dayes at the costs and charges of the owner thereof, And yf the said owner doe not paye such sume of money as ys in the saide booke mentioned within the saide twoe dayes, then the same distres

*Afferors, or affeerors (derived from the French *affer*, to affirm) were men sworn to set the fines justly on offenders, before court leets and other like courts, when statute law did not provide what the fine should be.

to be appraised by twoe of the inhabitants of the saide towne, and then to be solde by the Chamberlaines and serjeant or either of them for the payment of the saide fyne or fynes amerciament or amerciaments, and the overplus coming of the sale and keeping thereof (yf any there be) to be vmediathe restored to the owner of the same distres and tht to this intent there shalbe a warrant of attorney made to the saide Chamberlaines and serjeant from the Corporacon, or to anie other officer with them under the towne seall. And yt ys finalhe ordayned and enacted that from henceforth for ever after every inquire to be made by anie maior of this towne for the tyme being, as clerke of the market there, all fynes and amerciaments upon everie singular offenders head from tyme to tyme thereupon sett and prefixed shalbe, asked levved and collected by the Chamberlains of the towne of Northampton and serjeant to the mace of the maior of the saide towne for the tyme being or one of them in suche like and in the verie same manner and forme in everie respecte, as the nowe chamberlaines and the nowe serjeant to the mace of the saide nowe maior by force and vertue of this order may aske levie collecte and distraine for those fynes and amerciaments nowe in the saide booke of Escheates specified, etc.

Vernalls Inquest.

One of the strongest democratic notes of English municipal life was the free resort to the judgment of sworn jurors in almost all cases of difficulty or perplexity. Local business of every kind came under this custom to a far greater extent in the towns than in the country. In some towns it was the custom to chose jurors who were themselves to elect the corporation's officials, in others to assess taxes, and in certain places to settle disputes as to street paviage or such like public duties. Disputed boundaries, in three or four boroughs, were also submitted to a jury of the townsmen.

For the settlement of differences with regard to boundary or party walls, and such like matters, the Northampton custom was to summons a jury termed Vernalls, or the Vernalls inquest. A considerable effort has been made to discover the meaning or the origin of this highly unusual, if not unique, expression, a "Vernalls Inquest," but though a great variety of sources, both local and otherwise, have been consulted, no explanation of the term has as yet been offered, and we must at present be content to simply accept it as the definite name for a boundary jury regularly appointed within the liberties of Northampton for the settling of a frequently occurring dispute.

There are several incidental, but quite brief, references to a Vernalls inquest in the first great book of the orders of assembly. The jurors were twelve in number, were summoned by the serjeant of the great mace, were presided over by the mayor, and had their

verdict recorded by the town clerk. There was at one time a regular Vernalls inquest book, but it is now lost.

At the end of the second volume of the orders of assembly there are eleven instances of Vernalls inquests entered in detail, extending from 1664 to 1724. Four examples are given :—

4° Novembris, 1664.

Mem^d That the Jury for the Vernolls Inquest upon their Corporall Oathes, upon view of a Wall standing betweene the ground of Thomas Perkins on the Southside and the ground of Mr. Thomas Turland on the Northside, have given the said wall unto the s^d Thomas Perkins as belonging unto the Tenement wherein he now liveth in the Bridgestreete neere unto a Tenement called or known by the name of the Wheat Sheaffe

12° Aprilis, 1681.

Mem^d That the Jury for the Vernalls Inquest upon their Corporall Oathes (finding by the evidence of William Sharpe, Mary Drable, and Edward Hilliar that there were windows through the wall from widow Drables house into Thomas Nicholson's yard), Give the said Wall to Mr. John Chapman the new purchaser of Widow Drables house called formerly the White Beare, And doe order the same wall to be built upon the old foundacon as part of it is and that the Eves dropp as formerly.

14° Julii, 1684.

Mem^d that the Jury for the Vernalls Inquest being called according to the Custome of the towne and sworne Say upon their Oathes That they doe fynde opon the View of the Walls of the house of Eliz : Smyth widd : in Colledge Lane that the wall between her howse on the Sowth and the house of Abram Hayes is Widd Smythes wall, and the Sowth wall of her howse betweene her said howse and the howse of Francis Batten belongeth alsoe to the said Widd Smyth And alsoe the wall on the North adjoining to William Greene doth alsoe belong to the said Widd Smyth, And that all the said Walls doe and formerly did belong to the howse of the said Widd . Smyth.

17th June, 1724.

Mem^d the Jury called the Vernal's Inquest being all Inhabitants of the Town of Northampton and several of them skillfull and experienced workmen have this day at the Instance and Request of Francis Allen viewed a Drain or Watercourse in the Backside belonging to the now dwelling house and estate of Edward Stevenson (late the dwelling house and estate of Daniel Cockerill) situate in the said Town of Northampton which is made and lyes over the ground of the said Francis Allen close to the foundacon of his house, and upon the View thereof doe find the said Drain or Watercourse to be an Annoyance to the said Francis Allen by a Damage to his foundacon, And in the judgment of the said Jury the way to prevent any further Damage being done to the Foundacon of the said Francis Allen's house by the said Drain or Watercourse is to lay a leaden Spout or Gutter along the ground between the two Stair Cases of the said Edward Stevenson and Francis Allen from point to point.

The name of the twelve jurymen in this last case are written on the side of the entry.

From the beginning of the mayor's accounts there is invariably an annual entry of an expenditure of 10s. for dinner at the Vernalls inquest. In 1750 this charge is 20s. Dinners and liquors for this inquest come to £2 9s. 6d. in 1752, and the next year to £2 10s. 0d. In 1754 the dinner cost £1 1s. and the wine, punch, and ale £2 2s. In 1795 the Vernalls inquest dinner charge is £3 7s. 9d., but this included a guinea said to be allowed to the jury.

There could not have been a dinner or entertainment on each inquest; probably some years the jury was frequently summoned, while other years went by without any summons. From the regularity of these dinner entries, we can only conclude that there was an annual nomination of jurors to serve if need be on a Vernalls inquest during that year, and that a regular perquisite of the office was a yearly dinner supplied by the mayor out of his fund.

It seems to have fallen into abeyance before the end of last century.

Convictions for Swearing.

The criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the mayor and other elected justices of Northampton was very extensive, as has been shown in the previous volume. In fact, there was no other English borough that had wider powers in this direction than Northampton, and only some five or six that equalled it. It would be superfluous, however, to offer any comment on Northampton criminal procedure, as there are practically no records left that deal with the subject, with one partial exception.

At the end of the minute book of the court of aldermen (1694-1751), there are entries of convictions by the mayor or other justices for swearing from 1698 to 1708. The punishment varied; fines, which differed in amount, but were generally a shilling for each oath, were the usual penalty, but occasionally the offenders were placed in the stocks for two hours, usually when they were not in a position to pay the fine or to be distrained upon for it. The number of convictions for profane swearing during this period were 90, yielding an average of about ten a year. A few later convictions scattered over many years also occur, the last of which was in 1751. The fines were given to the poor of the parish to which the offender belonged or where the words were uttered.

The following are some specimens of the records of these

convictions; it will be noted that a distinction is made between cursing and swearing:—

April the 25th, 1698

"Mem^d that then Samuel Witsey (of St Gyles parish) for swearing By God 2 tymes was Convicted before mee John Clarke mayor of North'ton and sett in the stockes 2 houres, having noe Distresse to be taken

30th June 1698

Mem^d that Edward Wyman (of All Sts parish) being convicted before me John Clarke Mayor for swaring 2 Oathes By God and 2 Curses God damm us p^d 4^d

30th November 1698

Mem^d that then John Aspeland was convicted before me John Hoare Mayor of North'ton for Cursing by these words a Plague damme you and p^d 2^d, which was disposed of to the poore of the parish of St Sepulchers according to the Act

October 19th 1699

Memorand. Then Peeter Barret Laborer was convicted before mee John Clarke one of his majesties Justices for ye Peace for ye Town of North^ton for prime swearing 5 severall times, and for profane Cursing 5 severall Times, for which he forfeeted and paid Ten Shillings to ye use of ye poor of ye Parish of All Saints which was distributed by ye Churchwardens according to ye Act of Parliament

November 4th, 1701

Mem^d that then Mr William Marryot was convicted before me William Pritt Mayor for profane Cursing by these words God dam you, for which he paid 4^d being for 2 2^d offence, and p^d to the Churchwardens of All Sts.

On November 27th, of the same year one Samuel Alliston was convicted of swearing seven oaths, and fined fourteen shillings, whilst on the following day William White, a tailor, was convicted of swearing twenty-three oaths, and being very poor was set in the stocks.

Dec. 11th, 1702

Anne Grace als Graceless a petite Chapwoman of Chinawares was convicted before me Ben Bullivant Mayor for swearing 20 oaths in ye parish of All Sts North'ton, but haveing no goods whereon to Levy the forfeiture was by warrant publickly sett in the stocks according to the statute.

December ye 30th, 1702

Memorand. Francis Granborow miller at Cliffords Mill in Little Houton parish Comitat North'ton was convicted before me Benjamin Bullivant Mayor for swareing six oaths Sworn at the goate in North'ton on Thursday last, he comes to the Sararens head Inne every Saturday, could not be found

January the 29th 1702-3

Memorandum William Rands of ye parish of All Sts Shoomaker was convicted before me Benjamin Bullivant Mayor by the oath of Capt Thomas Cooke of swareing six oaths at the Angell Inne, and in my presence and hearing is convicted of swareing 2 Oaths and Cursing once, being formerly convicted for ye like offences and bound over to ye Sessions did comitte felony by fireing the prince, and was removed to the County Gaol in order to his tryall

Mem^d that on the fifth day of July, 1729, Briscoe Mortimer of Hansiop in the County of Bucks gentleman was convicted before the Worp^ll Samuel Plackett Mayor by oath of Francis Atterbury, of the parish of All Saints dyer, of profanely swearing six and forty awful Oaths by the sacred Name of God on the third day of this instant July in the said parish of All Saints for which offences the said Briscoe Mortimer forfeited the sum of four pounds and twelve shillings, for the use of the poor of the said parish of All Saints where the said offences were committed.

One of the Northampton convictions was for saying "Plague on 'im" It might nowadays seem rather straining a point to consider such an expression as a statutable offence; but when uttered in the hearing of those who had actually known the terrors of the plague, such an imprecation was sufficiently awful.

Constables, Thirdboroughs, and Dozeners

It is stated in the orders of assembly for 1581, and again for 1582 that at the Michaelmas meeting the constables and thirdboroughs for all the quarters were elected (by the whole assembly), and duly recorded in the "booke of processes."

In 1584 we have the names of all these peace officers recorded in full as selected by the assembly, namely, one constable and two thirdboroughs for each ward:—

Constable of the xcheker	Lawraunce Ball
Constable of the Southe . ..	John Meynarde
Constable of theste	John Wattes
Constable of the Weste	Richard Brytton
Constable of the Northe	Robert Dixeson
Thirdborowes of the xcheker	Henry Morton William Spereman
Thirdborowes of theste	Henry Smyth John Case
Thirdborowes of the weste .. .	Edward Smyth George Smyth
Thirdborowes of the Northe	Anthonie Banes Roger Addams
Thirdborowes for ye Southe ..	Henry Godly Edwarde Lichefeyld

In 1585 the whole names are again entered on the orders; the constables and thirdboroughs being re-appointed, save in the case of the constable for the south ward.

The names of the constables are not again mentioned until 1590 when they are given for each ward, together with a note that the names and appointments of the thirdboroughs are entered in "the boke of the entries of processes." About this time the

thirdboroughs are sometimes called headboroughs which was evidently considered an equivalent term

In the year 1600 the mayor and aldermen, without any apparent justification, took upon themselves the annual appointment of the constables, who had hitherto been elected by the whole assembly There is nothing in the charter of 1599 to warrant this interference, but having once made the innovation, the habit seems to have been uninterruptedly continued

The names of constables are usually given about this period at the October meeting of the assembly, but in 1618 the thirdboroughs' names were once again included in the orders, as well as officers for the extensions of the borough south and west —

Roger Sergeant, Constable of the Checker Ward, William Leach and William Hutworth Thirdborowes of the saide ward

John Fisher, Constable of the East ward, Lynn and Christopher Dawes Thirdborowes of the saide ward.

John Nicolls, Constable of the South ward, Henre Hill and Robert Sharpe Thirdborowes

Richard Fowler, Constable of the North ward, Symon Harrison and John Hilat Thirdborowes of the s^d Ward.

Thomas Collens, Constable of the west ward, George Farthinge and Thomas Boswell Thirdborowes of the said ward

William Coldwell Constable of the Cotton End Stephen Marratt and Thomas Madorie Thirdborowes of the saide ward

Thomas Crane, Constable of St James End.

The appointment of constables for Cotton End and St James End only appears once again, namely, in the following year 1619

In 1622 some of the wards are said to have thirdboroughs, and others headboroughs fully establishing the similarity of the terms From this date down to 1663 the two thirdboroughs and the single constable for each of the old five wards are named at every October meeting of the assembly, as elected by the mayor and aldermen, but in 1664 there is no mention made of the thirdboroughs and henceforth they drop out of the orders of assembly The five constables continued to be appointed by the mayor and aldermen down to 1831.

One of the almost invariable uses to which the ward constables were put was that of collecting any special assessment in their own quarter. The thirdboroughs were subordinate officials of the constable, and had to act in certain emergencies, whenever called upon by the constable

Most printed authorities that make any reference to "third-borough" speak of it as an equivalent term to a constable, and we are not aware of any proper explanation of the term and its date. Lamberd's old work on the *Duty of Constables* offers this delightfully simple but absolutely erroneous explanation: "In some places where every third borrow hath a constable, there the officers of the other two be called thirdborrows." The use, however, of this term among the Northampton records, as well as in various Derbyshire and Staffordshire papers that we have examined, quite upsets this theory. The word is really a corruption of an Anglo-Saxon community official, and has no connection with numbers. It is associated with the old system of mutual pledging known as *frith-borh* or frank-pledge. The compound word derived from *frith* peace, and *borh* bail or pledge (used to denote the bailman of the little community bound to see that the rest kept the peace), got gradually corrupted in both of its component parts, till it was changed into an utterly dissimilar word, thirdborough. The joint use, for so long a period, of officials so absolutely different in their origin and form of election as the Anglo-Norman King's officer, the constable, and the Anglo-Saxon community official, the thirdborough, is a matter of peculiar interest in connection with the history of Northampton. It forms one of several illustrations of the rise of town or municipal life from the older life of the village community, and of the gradual blending of the two.

Notice may also be here briefly taken of another still more exceptional name of an official, which occurs in the Northampton customary, and which again takes us back to the earlier community days. On page 397 of the first volume, is given the fifteenth century form of the oath of the constable of Northampton, from which it may be gathered that the more prominent of his then duties were supervising of the watch; attention to any unusual sound, affray or outcry; and the examination, and, if necessary, arrest of any stranger entering his ward by night. But on page 398 is the oath of the decimer, or (as it was more usually vulgarised) dizzener. It will be noticed that the *decimarius* was required to "present" all manner of disturbances against the peace, etc., a term not used with regard to the constable. This term at once connects the word with the court-leet, where presentment was made; in fact the oath speaks of presenting "in tyme of leetis."

A law of Edward the Confessor, based on an older enactment of Canute, ordered the combination of householders in associations of ten. Each of these associations had a headman, a capital-pledge, a frith-borh, or thirdborough, and originally over ten of these associations was a decinarius or dozener. But by degrees the term got changed, and in many districts quite died out, as other methods of procedure were adopted. It is interesting, and a further strong proof of the early pre-Norman community life of Northampton, to find the office as well as the name a reality not only in the fifteenth century, but in Elizabethan days, for the oath of the dozener is in a late sixteenth century hand (only slightly altered from the one in the first volume) in the Bateman copy of the customary. There is no reference whatever to the dozener in the orders of assembly; and this is only natural, for such an official would not be appointed by the assembly, or mayor and aldermen, but by all those attending the court-leet. The reason, no doubt, why the dozener's oath found its way into the customary of the town or assembly procedure, would be because several of the officials of the one court were officials of the other, and the mayor himself, if he pleased, could preside at the leet. It is highly curious to find this conflict of jurisdiction surviving in this decided way at Northampton at so comparatively late a date; the duties of constable, thirdborough, and dozener must have often overlapped.

The municipal use of the term dozener, as applied to minor corporation officials such as pinders, prevailed in three adjacent towns of the north-midlands down to 1835, namely, Derby, Burton-on-Trent, and Lichfield.

The Town Seals.

The corporate towns of England, from their earliest days, have had a prescriptive right to the use of a common seal. This seal they may break or change at pleasure, provided the corporation make an order to that effect.

The following are the different official seals pertaining to the town of Northampton. The actual seals or matrices are lost, save of those numbered VI., VII., and VIII.; they are only known from impressions :—

I. The common seal of the town (Plate III., Fig. 1). This is a circular seal, with well beaded borders, 1½ inch in diameter, and bears an embattled tower or gateway of rude and peculiar con-

PLATE III.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Seals of the Town of Northampton

struction. The great doors, with their double hinges, are closed. The battlements and projections are charged with fourteen irregular quatre-foils. Above the centre of the battlements appears a knight's head wearing a flat-topped helmet. On his right is a flag, which probably in the perfect seal bore the lions of England, and on the left a cross bow; these are undoubtedly intended to be in the hands of the knight, though his arms and hands are not visible. The legend round the seal, in Lombardic capitals, is

SIGILLUM . COMMUNE : NORHAMPTONE :

This seal is of early thirteenth century date, and was probably struck at the time of the 1227 charter.

II. The seal of the mayor (Plate III., fig. 2). This is a circular seal 1½ inch in diameter, and bears a triple-towered castle or gateway of well-defined masonry, with open portals. On each side of the castle is a rampant lion gardant. The background of the upper part of the seal is diapered with net work. Round the margin, between clearly-marked beadings, is the legend, in mixed Lombardic capitals,

S' MAIORITATIS VILLE NORHAMTONIE.

The date of this seal is later than the first common seal, and probably pertains to the reign of Edward I.

It is quite possible that the "towers" or "castles" on these two seals were intended for more or less actual representations of the principal town gate; the one being before the renewal and extension of the walls and gateways *circa* 1300, and the other immediately subsequent to that date.

The introduction of the lions on the mayor's seal was probably suggested by the fact of Northampton not only being a chartered town of the royal demesne, but peculiarly associated with an almost continuous succession of royal visitors. This seal is of much interest, as undoubtedly being the origin of the subsequent town arms. The gateway and lions of the seal were afterwards placed on a shield, and having tinctures assigned them became by long use the lawful arms of the borough.

These two seals—the common or community seal, and the seal of the mayoralty—were both in use until the time of Charles II. Amongst the town records, an impression of the former is attached to letters of attorney from the corporation of 1622, whilst several impressions of the early mayoralty seal are extant appended to documents *temp.* Charles I.

III. The statute merchant seal (Plate III., fig. 3). This also is a circular seal, 1⅝ inch in diameter, and bears the king's bust between two triple-towered castles, with the lion of England in base. The following is the legend, which is in Lombardic capitals:—

S' REGIS EDWARDI AD RECOGN' DEBITORUM.

As compared with the few other extant instances of statute merchant seals, the Northampton example possesses some peculiarities, which are noticed by Mr. St. John Hope in a good paper on these seals in vol. xv. of the second series of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*. The legend omits the name of the town, and the arrangement of the words is unusual. The lion in base is of a type peculiar to itself, with prominent ears, whilst the side castles are broad and flat, with three slim turrets. At whatever date Northampton first became entitled to such a seal there seems no doubt that this is of the year 1319.

The Close Rolls contain a memorandum dated May 23rd 1319, to the effect that the greater piece of the seal for taking recognisances at Northampton according to the statute of merchants—sent with the smaller piece by the treasurer and chamberlains under the exchequer seal to the Bishop of Ely, the chancellor—was delivered on May 21st by him to Philip de Caysho, mayor of Northampton, elected by the community of that town to have the custody of the aforesaid seal, according to the form of the statute. On the same day, the smaller piece of the seal was delivered to William de Burgo, clerk of the same town, with a commission of the Patent Roll. Impressions of these seals were placed in a box before transmission.

IV. A seal of the statute merchant's clerk, of fifteenth century date. It is circular, just an inch in diameter, and bears a figure of St. Andrew, on his cross, with four fleur-de-lis on each side, and a sprig in base (Plate III., fig. 4). The legend, in small black letter, is

S : cfici : de : stat : mcat : norbton.

The reason for St. Andrew's appearance on this small counter-seal is doubtless because of the intimate connection of the Cluniac priory of St. Andrew with the town, that monastery owning every church in the town.

V. Amongst the collection of seal casts of the *Northamptonshire Architectural Society* is one of another small circular seal,

an inch in diameter (Plate III., fig. 5.) It bears in the centre a king's head, and round the wide margin, in large irregular Lombardic lettering, is the legend —

S : PANORVM NORHAMTON ·

This is an unusual and most interesting seal. The legend implies that it is "the seal of the cloths of Northampton." At the first parliament of Edward I., held in 1275, certain duties on exports from England and Wales were granted to the king, under the name of "customs," that is in accordance with ancient custom or use, on wool, wool felts, and leather, wool paying 6s. 8d. the sack. In 1302 the king pleaded for additional funds, owing to his heavy war expenses, and the foreign merchants in England agreed to certain new or small customs, by which another 3s. 4d. was paid on the sack of wool, 2s. the piece on scarlet and dyed in grain cloth, 1s. 6d. on partly died in grain, and 1s. the piece on other cloth. This seal would be the stamp for the Northampton cloth prepared for exportation, as a token that the custom or duty had been paid. The head on the seal is obviously that of Edward I. There are only one or two other known examples of royal cloth subsidy seals.

VI. The common seal of 1667-8. This is an oval seal, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch long, with a circular triple-towered castle in the centre, flanked by two rampant lions. The legend is:—

NORTHAMPTONIÆ . A°. 19 . CAROLI . 2 . R . ANGLIÆ

VII. The common seal of 1706. This is also oval, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, and bears on a shield the town arms of a castle and two lions. The legend is:—

NORTHAMPTON CHARTER RENEWED XXXVI. GEO. III.

In this year the corporation spent six guineas on two new seals, and 10s. 6d. on boxes for the same.

VIII. The present common seal, which was made in 1879, is circular, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and bears on a shield the borough arms, with the legend —

CASTELLO FORTIOR CONCORDIA.

The chamberlain's accounts state that in 1692 Mr. Barnes was paid "5s. for mending the seales", and in 1714, a further sum of 3s. 6d. "for new cutting the Proces Seale."

ARMS OF THE TOWN OF NORTHAMPTON.

"Gules, on a mount vert, a triple-towered castle (or tower) argent, supported by two lions rampant gardant, or, in the

portway of the castle, a portcullis raised." Motto—*Castello fortior concordia*—concord is stronger than a castle.

No crest used.

The device of the castle supported by two lions, has been used by the town from very early times. The mayor's seal (Plate III., fig. 2) is obviously, as has been remarked, the origin of the borough arms The tower or castle probably represents one of the town gates; the two lions no doubt, were adopted from those on the shield of the king, to indicate that Northampton was a royal borough.

This badge or device was not originally borne on a shield, and therefore could not be called "*Arms*," properly speaking but in course of time, when it became general for towns to bear arms, it was placed on a shield, the field of which was red, the castle silver, and the lions gold.

The mount vert was a later addition, as was also the portcullis in the portway.

The earliest representations of the town shield are in a sketch book by William Belcher, of Guilsborough (at the Bodleian Library, Oxford), who made drawings of the heraldic glass in the windows of All Saints' church, Northampton. Belcher died in 1608-9, but the windows were very much earlier than his time. There are three drawings of the Northampton coat amongst the All Saints' collection. The first is without the mount, the castle not being triple-towered. This same coat was also set up in glass in the church of St Neots, Hunts, and was sketched on the 19th August, 1613, by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster herald, when he took the visitation (as deputy to Camden) of that county.

The second shield is similar to the first, excepting that the castle is surmounted by three small turrets, the two outer ones leaning outwards, an obviously impossible construction.

In the third shield the castle and lions are placed upon a mount, the castle is triple-towered pyramidically. This is probably of later date than the other two. In none of these shields is the portcullis represented.

In the visitation of 1564, no notice is taken of the coat of Northampton. In the visitation of 1618-9, "a shield of arms borne and used by the town of Northampton" is mentioned, but no blazon given. "A badge of the same arms, used by the Common

Crier, the Sexton of All Saints, and the Town Wait-players of the Town only," is mentioned likewise. (For this badge see Plate II.)

At the last visitation, 1681, is recorded "the arms borne and used by the Town of Northampton, within a shield gules, a tower triple-towered, pyramidally argent, and with portcullis raised, supported by two lions, gardant or, all on a mount." No tincture is given for the mount, but no doubt the fact of its being a "mount" was sufficient to indicate its colour.

On the illuminated charter from James I. to the town, 1618, are several carefully drawn and coloured shields of Northampton. The castle is represented as a round tower, without a portcullis, surmounted by one turret only. It should be noticed that in these shields the lions are armed and langued azure, as they should always be.

The early form of the castle, as shown on the seal of the mayor (Plate III., fig. 2) is the most picturesque and correct of any. It is not known when the motto was first used.

Attention is drawn to the fact that in Sir Bernard Burke's *General Armory*, the castle is erroneously given as "*or*," which has caused this mistake in several drawings of the coat.

Northampton Herald.

Northampton was the title of one of the heralds of the crown in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. In the forty-sixth year of Edward III. (1372-3), Richard, son of William Macheby, of Brewood, Northampton herald, had a protection for going in the king's service into France, with John of Gaunt, king of Castile, and in a privy seal of the fifth year of Richard II. (1381-2), the king calls him one of his heralds, and directs that a grant to him of the priory alien of Wynghale for fifty years should be made out, as a reward for his good services to the king's grandfather, Edward III., and to himself.

The same herald is also mentioned in the seventh and tenth years of Richard II.*

Judges of Assize.

There are a few scattered entries in the town records relative to the judges of assize which may appropriately be placed in this section.

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*From Edmondson's *Complete Body of Heraldry* (1780), vol. I., p. 114.

An order of assembly of the year 1590 provided that the innkeepers were to have yearly paid to them out of the chamber 40s., towards "the good lodging and interteyning of the judges of assize their men," namely 20s. at every assize and no more.

It was agreed in 1640 that the chamberlains shall bestow no more than 40s. at any assize in providing the judges a present.

The assizes used always to be held at the castle of Northampton. After the restoration, when Charles II ordered the town walls of Northampton to be demolished in 1662, the castle came under a like sentence of destruction, save so much of it as was necessary for use by the judges when holding the assizes.

In 1669 that part of the castle which had been spared for this purpose became ruinous, and the corporation, being anxious that the future county hall or shire house should be in the town, promised to subscribe £100 towards the erection of such a building on that condition.

On January 19th, 1670, it was ordered "that a shead be built of Bord and Timber at the Chamber Charge for the judges to sitt in next Assizes, and to be built in some convenient place within the body of the Towne for that purpose."

The assembly, in April, 1672, ordered a cess of £100 to be levied on the inhabitants "for the building of an Assize and Sessions house, and that such Ground be allowed and granted to the Gentry of the County of Northampton for the building of the same as the Towne have of their owne."

The shed or temporary timber house mentioned above was put up in the market square close to the market cross. Owing to delay in finding the money and a suitable site, the county authorities were content to use the shed until it was burnt down in the great fire of 1675.

The town was in the habit of providing wine for the judges. The following are some of the entries relative to this custom taken from the chamberlain's accounts:—

		£	s	d
1679	at Geeege for 12 bottles of Clarrett and whitewyne and the botties	0	15	6
	P^d Fitzhugh for 7 bottles of Sack and the bottles for the Jeeges	0	16	4
1680	P^d at George for Wyne for the judges and ye bottles	1	19	4
	P^d at Swan for Wyne and Bottles for the Judges	1	17	3
1692	P^d Mr Brafield for Wyne for two Assizes	3	19	6
1696	P^d for 12 bottles of Clarett and 6 of Sack for the Judges ...	1	16	0
1698	P^d Ale at hall the Judges coming	0	1	9

	£.	s.	d.
1703 March 8th Pd for 14 bottles of Clarrett and 7 sack to the Judges at the Assizes	1	16	6
Somer Ass. pd for wyne for the Judges from Mr. Brayfields and Hynde	2	4	3

The following entries seem to show that the town serjeants were on duty at the Assizes:—

1708 Pd ye 2d Assizes 2s for Ale George Serjeants and 2s ye baylys.
1709 Pd for Ale for the Serjeants 2d Assize 2s
1740 Pd the Serjeants at the Lent Assize for beer 4s

SECTION FOUR.

Town Property, Buildings, and Revenues.

The property of the town in 1586—Gradual loss of property—Long leases and fines—Possessions of the Gobion family—Purchase of Gobion manor by the town in 1622—Inclosure act of 1799—The first town hall—The second town hall, temp. Edward I.—Enlarged in Henry VII. reign—Again enlarged in 1631—The town gaols—Houses of correction or bridewells—Out relief for the poor—Begging Badges—Relief of the unemployed—Spinning wheels—Relief in winter—St. George's hall—Markets and fairs—Market tolls—The market cross—Weights and measures—Tumbrel, pillory, and stocks—Traverse tolls—The great toll case—The fee farm.

TOWN PROPERTY, BUILDINGS, AND REVENUES.

THE real property of the town of Northampton was at one time of considerable extent and value, irrespective of buildings used for town purposes, of extensive rights in common fields, and of income derived from tolls and such like sources.

One of the most interesting of the older volumes pertaining to the corporation is an elaborate Elizabethan terrier or survey of all the property belonging to the town both within and without the walls. From it we can gather much as to the appearance of the town three centuries ago, with its numerous gardens and abundance of fruit and other trees.

The following is the full title. —

A trow Tairoor and Sumeighe of all the Landes, Tenements, and Hereditaments whatsoever as doe beonge to the Chamber of the towne of Northampton as well lyinge within the towne and Feilde of Northampton as in the countrey Surveighed and taken by Richarde Wattes theider John Danbroke, Robert Randes, Lawrrunce Bull, Robert Dukes, and Thomas Sanbeocke, the Tenth day of December Anno 1587, in the nyene and Twenteithe year of the reigne of o' moste gracious soverreign ladie Elizabethe by the grace of god of Englande Fraunce and Irelande Queen defender of the faithe &c.

as particulerly followeth

Mr John Bichenoe then beinge maior, John Willson and Robart Storie Baylyffes.

The contents of the volume are divided into ten principal heads, namely the lands in the five wards of the town—north, west, east, chequer, and south—lands at Milton, Heyford, Pitsford, and Cotton, and the free school meadows. Two-thirds of the book is left blank. The exigencies of space prohibit a complete transcript, but a full summary is given:—

"*Landes in the Northe Quarter*" include —

(1) A little garden on the south side of "Saynte Pulchre's churcheyarde," tenant Richard Watts, rental 12d.

(2) A thatched house of three bays, with a little decayed house adjoining, with an orchard of one rood containing four apple trees, a walnut tree, a pear tree, two plum trees, four ash trees, and two elm trees, tenant Thomas Morden, rent 5s.

(3.) A thatched house of two bays, and a garden of one rood, containing three apple trees, one ash tree, and twenty plum trees; tenant John Howe, rental 5s.

(4.) A house of two bays, with a garden of one rood containing three apple trees, six plum trees, six cherry trees, three elms and one ash tree; tenant Elizabeth Shepherd, rental 4s.

(5.) The north gate, with a garden and teyntor adjoining; tenant Rowland Pattison, rental 8s.

(6.) A close of 1½ acres called Gyles Gutter; tenant John Balguy, rental 10s.

(7.) A close of 5 roods having an ash tree in it, called Dede Close, held by Thomas Ludlow in exchange of St George's ley.

(8.) Dovehouse Close of ¼ acre, with a dovehouse in it, and an elm tree; tenant Henry Bayly, rental 8s.

(9.) A little orchard containing nine apple trees, a plum tree, a quince tree, and a walnut tree; tenant Henry Wharlow, rental 5s.

(10.) A house of four bays in Hogs Market, tenant Roger Haspytte, rental 12d.

(11.) An orchard near the well in the Hogs Market, 40 yards by 11 yards, containing a great pear tree and two little ash trees; tenant Roger Haskytte, rental 6s. 8d.

(12.) A garden and an orchard near the Castle Hills, containing nine apple trees, six plum trees, two cherry trees, twelve young trees (quince, warden, and apple), and one old apple tree; tenant Mark Robins, rental 20s.

(13.) A dovehouse and a little parcel of ground; tenant Agnes Hopkins, rental 12d.

(14.) An old decayed house abutting on the lane called Silver Street; tenant Edmund Guye, rental 12d.

(15.) A little orchard, with eight apple trees, three cherry trees, and three ash trees; tenant Lawrence Manley, rental 12s.

(16.) "A little Spong of ground," 40 yards by 5 yards, containing four appletrees, a medlar tree, and a plum tree "havinge alsoe a Fylbearde tree cut down in yt, and alsoe xxj[ti] plantes of Filbeardes in it"; tenant Edward Smythe, rental 16d.

(17.) A little garden in Silver Street having six cherry trees, a plum tree, and a filbert tree, 21 yards by 12 yards; tenant John Long, rental 2s.

(18.) An orchard and garden, formerly part of a common lane called Cappe Lane, having in it seven apple trees, nine plum trees,

wo nut trees, and a cherry tree; tenant Thomas Deynteyth ental 2s. 4d.

(19.) A piece of Cappe Lane, adjoining the above, containing ive apple trees and a plum tree; tenant William Brown, rental 16d.

"*Landes in the Weste Quarter*" include:—

(1.) The West Gate and "a piece of grounde sometime called the Towne Dyke extendinge in Lengthe from the weste gate throwghe the ground of Henry Walker to the River syde conteynethe in Lengthe Fowerscore yardes and at the North end Syxe yardes And at Sowthe End xvj yards and from the Crosse wall along the River syde and xl yards in lengthe and Fyfteyne yards in breadthe."

(2.) A house or tenement of nine bays, with a yard and garden containing a great apple tree, seven other apple trees, and a plum tree; also a piece of the Town Dyke with willows in it, seventy yards by nine yards; a back house of five bays; and a kiln house, with dove house, and small stable of one bay, with a garden containing an apple tree, nine young ash trees, and other young apple trees; tenant Isabel Bradfield, rental 26s. 8d.

(3.) A little house of two bays next to Bradfield's yard, once parcel of the Town Dyke fourteen yards by ten; tenant John Ainsworth, rental 8d.

(4.) "A piece of the Town Dyche From Mr Aynsworthe's litle house to Mervells Mylls with dyvers wyllowes in it"; tenant Henry Clarke, rental 5s. 8d.

(5.) A slated house of three bays in Gold street, called the Store House, with a garden containing two apple trees, two plum rees, and other small trees; tenant James Goodwyn, rental 5s.

(6.) A little garden lying at the back of St. Katharine's; tenant ohn Hopkyns, rental 16d.

(7.) A slated tenement of six bays, in good repair, with a nall garden, lately occupied by Mistress Skerolles; tenant Henry harpe, rental 26s. 8d.

(8.) A slated tenement of four bays; tenant William Reade, ental 10s.

(9.) "The towne hathe and holdethe one Schoole house called aint Gregories howse and Mr. Sawnderson holdeth one garden : thende of the same schoole howse having in it one peare tree wer Apletrees fower Nutt Trees and a Cherye tree conteyninge y estimacion halfe a Roode of grownde Rente by yeare."

(10.) "John Aynsworthe holdethe att the handes of the demyse of Mr. Saunderson one other Garden lyinge on the Northe syde of the same Schoole howse havinge in it twoe wallnutte trees Three Plumbe trees conteyninge by estimation a Roode of Grounde and Adjoyninge to the garden of the said Mr. Sawnderson of the Sowth syde. Hee holdeth alsoe one other piece of Grounde walled in on bothe sydes, Buttinge northe on the Schoolesyde And on the left hande of the Gate entringe in to the Schoole yarde conteyninge in lengthe Twelve yardes and in breadthe Eighte yardes and payethe noe Rente for the same to any person"

(11.) "The same William Sawnderson holdeth one Howse belonginge to the Free Schoole lyinge over againste Thomas Craswell conteyninge by estimation fyve Bayes with a garden thereto belonginge and conteyninge A Roade of Grownde with twoe Apletrees and Sixe Plumbetrees in the same Rente by yeare nihil."

(12.) Three roods of ground, called St. Katharine's churchyard, containinge fifteen apple trees and three nut trees, tenant George Dalton, rental 4s.

(13.) A stable of four bays in College Lane, in bad repair, with a garden having in it a warden tree, a peache tree, a plum tree, a holly tree, and a bay tree; tenant Thomas Freare, rental 6s.

(14.) A courtyard at the back of the Swan, "and the Swanne hathe but the breadthe of a Carte throughe the yard and noe more"; tenant Richard Wilkinson, rental 16d.

(15.) A stable of four bays in College Lane, with a little yard containing two appletrees; tenant John Bichenoe, rental 9s.

(16.) Lawraunce Botte holdeth by a lease "one Howse or Tenemente with a Backsyde and certeine wyllowes and Plumbe trees lyinge in the Colledge Lane betweene the howse of our sovereigne Ladie the Queene of the Sowthe syde and a litle Lane leadinge by Mr. Balgayes howse of the northe syde conteyninge xij Bayes of howsinge whereof Fower of them being Slatted And hee holdethe alsoe one little Close lyinge alsoe on the northe syde of the weste bridge conteyninge by Estimation halfe an Acre of grownde And there are alsoe Three Bayes and a halfe more beinge Slatted parcell of the xij bayes aforesayde Rent by yeare xxvs."

"*Landes lyinge in theaste quarter*" include:—

(1.) A tenement of two bays with a little kitchen, and a little

garden containing two apple trees and the halfe of a warden tree; tenant Margery Woodford, rental 8s.

(2.) A house of two bays with garden containing an apple tree, half a warden tree, and a bay tree; tenant Agnes Wright, rental 6s.

(3.) A house called St. George's Hall, of eighteen bays, whereof nine bays are slated and nine thatched, with backside and pump and two little gardens; tenant Robert Story, rental 53s. 4d.

(4.) A thatched stable of two bays, with a hogyard, and a little garden containing a plum tree, "lying in Dychers Lane alias Grope Lane"; tenant Lawrence Balle, rental 8s.

(5.) "Mr. Thomas Haryson of Stowe hathe Encroached upon a Lane lyinge nere Saynte Gyles Churche whiche goeth to Grope lane end."

(6.) A slated house of eight bays with a kitchen in St. Giles street, with a little thatched stable, and a garden containing three apple trees, three cherry trees, and divers other young trees, and with a great holly tree at the door; tenant Elizabeth Hone, rental 16s.

(7.) A little close near the Dearne Gate, containing a rood of ground, with three apple trees and four plum trees in it; tenant Mark Robyns, rental 2s. 8d.

(8.) A little stable near Cow Lane end, with a little garden having three apple trees, a nutt tree, a warden tree, and three ash trees; tenant Thomas Burgess, rental 20d.

(9.) A little stable in Cow Lane, and a garden with one apple tree: tenant Edward James, rental 16d.

(10.) A thatched house of three bays in St. Giles Street, with a little garden; tenant Robert Rands, rental 6s. 8d.

(11.) An orchard in Cow Lane, forty-nine yards by twenty yards; tenant John Coles, of London; rental 2s. 8d.

*"Rotten Rowe."**

Item one little Spong of grounde lyinge in a Close in Rotten Rowe from a Stake nere the midle of the sayde close in Breadthe westwarde Eighte Yardes, in lengthe Threescore and Syxe yardes betweene the Queenes lande of theastte syde and the lande of Mr. Ravenscroffte of the Weste syde one kylne howse conteyninge

* Rotten Row, i.e., the row of the Rood or Cross, was the name for the paved causeway leading from the south bridge to Queen Eleanor's Cross

in Lengthe westward Syxteyne yardes and one piece of groundes buttinge uppon the sayde kylne in Breadth westwarde to the hedge and xxviij yardes and in Lengthe and threescore and sye yardes beinge in the same Tenne Apletrees, one Payre tree and two Ashes lyinge betweene the lande of Mr Ravenscrofte Easte and weste, and from the Syde of the said kylne howse to the Brooke syde Tenne yardes lyinge Waste as a highewaye Leadinge towardes Delaprie with dyverse willowes set by the Brooke side and soe lykewyse from the two Tenementes to the Brooke syde.

"*Landes lyinge in the Checker warde*" include —

(1.) A tenement in the Checker butting upon the Barley Hill tenant Anthony Walker, rental 26s. 8d.

(2.) A tenement of three bays "with a litel kytchyn and back syde" tenant Thomas Burgess, rental 16s.

(3.) A shop under the town hall, tenant John Flower, rental 2s.

(4.) A shop under the town hall; tenant John Howe, rental 1s.

(5.) A shop under the town hall tenant George Commeskill rental 6s. 8d.

(6.) A shop under the town hall, tenant Nicholas Newman rental 6s.

(7.) A little shop near the conduit under the town hall, tenant Joan Fell rental 4s. 4d.

(8.) A little shop at the jail-hall door, near the conduit, tenant John Holmes, rental 16d.

(9.) A shop under the town hall, next to the town jail tenant Thomas Harrison, rental 26s. 8d.

(10.) A little shop under the town hall, next to the shop of John Holleed, woollen draper, tenant Thomas Sanbroke ("tenant Mr Maire's clearke)," rental 8s.

(11.) A piece of ground, called a woodyard, tenant John Holleed, rent 2s. 8d.

(12.) A fish-stall "next to the shoppe of William Chauncye Esquyer" tenant Edward Chatton, rental 4s.

(13.) A piece of ground at the back of Richard Britton's house, next to Woolmonger street, tenant Lawrence Manley, rental 8d.

(14.) A tenement of three bays with a lean-to, all slated adjoining All Saints' Church tenant Elizabeth Wandley rental 33s. 4d.

"*Landes lyinge in the Sowthe quarter*" include:—

(1.) "One litle lane lyinge on the backsyde of Brydewell and eadinge to Sainte Johanes"; tenant Robert Shepherd.

(2.) Another piece of ground, parcel of the same lane; tenant Edward Chatton, rental 16d.

(3.) Another piece of the same lane; tenant William Lowacke rental 16d.

(4.) Tenement in Bridge street of five bays, with a kitchen, buttery, stable, and divers other houses of office of eight bays, all thatched; and with a little garden near Marvell's Mills; tenant George Andrew, rental 10s. 8d.

(5.) A "Sponge of grownde lying from his broade gate from his Kingswell Lane to a grownde called Rookes Mucke hyll"; tenant William Rainsford, rental 4d.

(6.) A little house in Bridge street, containing a bay and a half, with a little garden at the back; tenant Hugh Moringe, rental 4s.

(7.) A little house with garden in the same street; tenant Cuthbert Metcalf, rental 4s.

(8.) Another tenement with garden in the same street; tenant Henry Trott, rental 5s.

(9.) A tenement of four bays in the same street, "slatted on the Backsyde," with a thatched house of two bays; tenant Robert Hilton, rental 20s.

(10.) A tenement called "the Armentage of the Sowthe Brydge" of three bays, lyinge next the river on the south side; tenant Thomas Ashpole, rental 4s.

(11.) A slated tenement in Bridge street of two bays, with a little close, having five apple trees, and well replenished with willows and cherry trees; tenant Valentine Davidson, rental 18s.

(12.) A thatched house of two bays in Cotton End; tenant Geoffrey Bryce, rental, 5s.

(13.) A garden in Cotton End with six apple trees; tenant ohn Wilson, rental 2s.

(14.) A tenement in Cotton End of four bays, two slated and wo thatched, with a little house of a bay "thacked on the backe yde," together with a garden containing three ash trees, seven pple trees, two pear trees, a walnut and a filbert; tenant John Vilson, rental 10s.

(15.) An acre of meadow ground at Cotton End, having four

ash trees at the head of the close, and twenty-eight ash trees on the west side, next to St Thomas (bridge chapel) two great ash trees, and at either end two ash trees and certain willows; tenant Richard Wilkinson.

(16.) A tenement of three bays in Bridge Street, whereof the side toward the street is slated and the other side thatched, with a garden having nine apple trees, one pear tree, and a walnut tree: tenant Edward Wilson, rental 6s. 8d.

(17.) A house of two bays in the south quarter, having a garden with three apple trees: tenant Lawrence Manley, rental 6s. 8d.

(18.) "One piece of a meadowe beinge the latter Croppe lying on the Backesyde of the Queenes place dyched Rounde abowte", tenant Lawrence Manley, rental 6s. 8d.

(19.) A thatched house of two bays, with a garden containing two apple trees; tenant Robert Pinner, rental 4s.

(20.) A little piece of ground, with two apple trees, and one ash tree; tenant Robert Carvell, rental 16d.

(21.) A "hogge stye" and a garden in Kingswell lane, tenant Richard Freeman, rental 2s. 6d.

"Landes lying in Mylton":—

(1.) A piece of meadow with a parcel of land, lying in the field of Wootton, and seven leys abutting on the same (acreage not given), with one acre of arable land adjoining, next to the Lady Bridge on the north side; and one piece of ley containing four acres, lying in Bonnam Furlong; and another piece of ley of three acres, lying in Woodfurlong, beyond the town of Milton tenant Robert Dukeson, rental £4

(2.) All those parcels of land and meadow lying in the several fields called Arkesham, in the parish of Wootton, in the tenure or lease of William Samwell. The description of the property in the open fields of Arkesham is given verbatim, as illustrative of the cultivation and occupation of those days.

In the Northefelde of Arxam in a Furlonge lying East and weste Twoe [illegible] The one a Aadland nexte St Johanes lande on the Southe syde in an ether Furlonge Shootinge Sowthe uppon the Hadland aforesaid and Northe upon the meadow called Arxams There ys twoe halfe Acres of Errable land St Johanes lande beinge on both sydes in the weste Feilde of Arxam in a Furlonge Shootinge Easte uppon the said leies Ende and Thruppe brooke being on the west syde Twoe halfe Acres of Errable land St. Johannes lande being on bothe sydes in the Sowthe

ld of Arxam in a Furlonge Shootinge Easte uppon Cotton and Hargingstone e west towardes Thruppe Bridge. Twoe halfe Acres of Errable land the uttermoste rards the leies. A leye of Saynt Johanes in the Northfielde on the northe syde d Sainte Johanes lande of the Sowthe syde in the same Feilde. Two halfe Acres Errable land the two uttermoste Southeward. The hyghe waye on the weste de, a Leye of Sainte Johanes lands on bothe sydes, A Short Butteleye uppon nother Shorte furlonge more Westewarde, The one end weste warde unto the leadowe The other Ende weste warde uppon the Errable landes, Saint Johanes ndes on bothe sydes, in the meadow of Arxam from Thruppe Bridges Northesyde This yeare Northampton towne and Mr. Samwell Three Pole from the waye, and he Mr of Sainte Joanes nyene Pole. Then againe the (towne) and Mr. Samwell Three Pole, and then Sainte Jones nyene Pole and soe Throughe. And the Townes parte Amownteithe xvij poles, and xvij halfe Poles. And the nexte yeare the Mr of St Jones is next the waye and begynneth with his nyene Pole, and then North'ton towne and Mr. Samwell followe as aforesaid.

No tenants' names or rentals are given with regard to the remainder of the property calendared in this survey. The probable reason is that, at this time, the property subsequently mentioned was immediately cultivated by the town under the chamberlains.

Heyford.

Two and a half acres of arable land, in half acre strips, in different parts of the fields of Heyford.

Pitsford.

Certain lands belonging to the free school of Northampton, in the occupation of Richard Ware.

(1.) Half an acre butting into the Heath, near to Boughton Meer.

(2.) Half an acre in Brampton Bridge fields, "on Shorte Blacke myles."

(3.) One rood at Elderstompe, near Boughton Meer.

(4.) Half an acre on the Longe, butting into Brampton Way.

Pitsford.

(1.) A house or tenement at the south end of Pitsford, next to the tenement of the late Fraternity of St. Katharine's of Northampton; with the following lands belonging to this tenement:—Three butts or ley adjoining a close called Thirdboroughs Grass; an acre of ley butting upon Walter Kirkman's wall, and two roods in the same furlong; and an acre and three roods lying respectively on or near Broad Lands, Awsons Well, Molton Way, and Debdale Head.

(2.) Lands lying in the Croft, viz., a rood at Hobbs Hole; half an acre at Whitwell Path; a rood at Langwell Hill; a rood at

Furlong, half an acre on the east side of London Way, half an acre in the same furlong, a rood being a headland at the upper end of the same furlong, and half an acre adjoining Fosbury Yard.

(4.) Moor Field.

Half an acre in Fulbrook Furlong, half an acre in Bracknyll, half an acre on the same hill, a rood of ley on the same hill, half an acre at Porte lane; half an acre of ley in the Pykes, half an acre of ley on Bracknyll, six lands lying together on Coldhtch, half an acre on the same furlong, half an acre in James Croft; and a headland at the upper end of James Croft.

(5.) Rodwell Field.

A rood of ley at Marvell Gutter; half an acre adjoining London Way, a rood lying on Lang Lands, half an acre in the same furlong, half an acre on Rodwell Hill, being half an acre under Rodwell Hill, half an acre on the west side of Oxford Way, half an acre shooting into Oxford Way, another half acre of the same furlong; a rood adjoining Cotton Town End, half an acre on Gutter Hill, and half an acre in the Galles.

"*Meadowes belonging to Sainte Leonardes as followethe*" include,—

An acre of meadow ground in Noone Meadow; and another acre lying in the same meadow.

"*Meadowe Groundes lying in Cotton Marshe*"

Two half roods of meadow in Crooked Roodes; another half rood in the same meadow, a hook of meadow ground in St. Leonard's Hook, half a rood in Over Marsh, and one rood in the same meadow.

"*Sainte Leonardes Yarde lande demysed to Mr. Roger Harlytte with St. Leonardes*"

(1.) Broadhill Field.

A rood in White Leys furlong, another rood at the head of the same furlong, a rood at Mead Leys, half an acre in the same furlong, a rood in the same furlong, half an acre in Long Broadhill, half an acre in Foxalls, a rood of ley in Foxalls, and half an acre in Long Leys.

(2.) Hacknay Field.

Half an acre in Thrupp way Furze, half an acre of ley at Great Debbyte, half an acre of ley lying under Hillocks, half an acre of ley on the top of Hillocks, half an acre in Nettleboro Furlong,

a rood in the Fifteen Acres; half an acre in Monshill; half an acre lying on Hawkway; half an acre in Feedale; half an acre adjoining New Close; half an acre in Short Hawkway; half an acre in the same furlong.

(3) Meer Field.

Half-an-acre in Feedale; half an acre shooting into Oxford Way; an acre shooting into Oxford Way called Throwe Acre; half an acre in Myddloocke Slade; half an acre by Wootton Mere; a half acre butt by London Way; and another half acre by Wootton Meer.

(4.) Moor Field.

A rood under Little Bracknell; a rood of ley in the Moor; half an acre in the Flaxland; half an acre under Bracknell; half an acre on Windmill Hill; half an acre in the same furlong; another half acre in the same furlong; a road in Maunsell Furlong; and half acre butting into London Way.

(5.) Rodwell Field.

Half an acre of ley by Meerhole Gutters; half an acre butting into London Way; half an acre in Langlands; half an acre between Rodwell Slade and Cauldwell Slade; half an acre in the Galles; and half an acre shooting into Oxford Way.

(6.) Meadow belonging to Salisbury Yard Land.

Three roods of meadow in Noon Meadow; and one rood in Little Cotton Marsh.

"Certeine Meadowe Grounde belonging to the Free Schoole given by Mr. Chipseye late in the tenure of George Dalton deceassed."

(1.) Seven acres in Cotton Marsh.

(2.) Twenty-eight roods in Little Marshes.

(3.) A hook of meadow, containing two acres, in Cotton Marsh, next to the river.

Gradual Loss of Town Property.

If this Elizabethan terrier of 1586 is compared with the rental receipts in the time of Charles II., as already given in the full transcript of one of the chamberlain's annual accounts of that reign, it will be noticed that there had been a serious loss of landed and house property during the century. The records contain several notices of the sale of house property and small plots of land to pay off specific liabilities of the corporation.

In 1621 the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses conveyed to William Lewes, of Northampton hosier, two messuages and tenements in Abington Street, with a garden, for £40. In the same year the corporation sold a garden in Cow lane to John Clifford, vintner, for £14; two tenements in the South Quarter to John Maynard, tanner, for £40; a stable and garden in Derngate to William Savage, yeoman, for £13 6s. 8d.; a tenement in the Market Square to Henry Gillesley, linendraper, and to John Scryven, shoemaker, for £53. 6s. 8d.; a messuage and tenement to the east of All Saints to John Loe, ironmonger, for £75; and three tenements in North street to Raphael Humphrey, linendraper, for £75.

In the following year the corporation sold further house property in Northampton to the value of £50. A piece of land abutting on Silver street was sold by the corporation in 1645 for £15 5s. In 1680 Robert Hesilbridge Esquire purchased from the town certain grounds on the west side of the castle for £52.

Other portions of landed property were sold during the next century-and-a-half, though not to so considerable an extent.

The singularly evil but common custom began to prevail in the latter part of the seventeenth century of letting the corporate property of the town at a low rent on long leases, and exacting a heavy fine for present expenses. This custom gradually grew in strength and was particularly bad about the middle of the eighteenth century. For instance, William Cooke, carrier, renewed his lease of St. Leonard's farm in 1748, for forty-two years, at a rental of £21 5s., but only on condition of the heavy fine of £210.

Gobion's Manor.

In the early Norman days, the family of Gobion held of the crown a considerable tract of land closely adjoining to Northampton, and chiefly on the east side; they had also certain free tenants within the town.

This property was purchased by the corporation on April 24th, 1622. The sale of so many small plots of ground in 1621-2 was to help to find the purchase-money for this large estate. The title deeds of the Gobion property and manor then came into the hands of the corporation, and are still amongst the town muniments. These evidences are sufficiently interesting to merit some description.

In the time of King John, William de Vipont, senior, granted to Richard Gobion a virgate of land, beyond the south bridge of Northampton, on the west, on the service of rendering yearly a pound of cummin seed, at the feast of All Saints. Later on in the same reign, William de Vipont, junior, renews the same grant to Richard Gobion.

There are several noteworthy deeds of the reign of Henry III. relative to the Gobion property, from which it appears that Hugh, son of Richard Gobion, forfeited his lands by taking part against the king in the civil wars towards the end of his reign. Hugh Gobion had, in all probability, assisted Simon de Montford and the barons, in 1264, in holding Northampton against the king's forces. The king granted the Gobion lands to Hugh de Turberville, son of Lord Robert de Turberville, lord of Crickhowell. But soon afterwards, namely in 1268, Hugh Gobion recovered all his lands and tenements in Northampton and Harleston, by paying a fine of redemption of ninety-five marks to Robert de Turberville, brother of Hugh, the king's grantee.

About 1270 Hugh Gobion purchased a house near St. Giles' churchyard. In 1282 Sir Richard Gobion made grant of a house in Bridge street.

Sir Paynel Gobion, in 1357, granted to John Carden a life lease of a messuage and garden within the east gate, together with a meadow called Portmeadow, and eighteen acres of land in the fields of Northampton. The rent was fixed at 20s for the first twenty-two years, and after that term at 100s. per annum. The tenant was to repair the premises.

In 1360, Sir Paynel Gobion leased for their lives, to William Bacoun and his wife Isabel, sixteen acres of arable land, lying without the north gate, on either side of the king's highway, from St. Bartholomew's church to Walbek. The rent was 13s. 4d for the first nineteen years, and after that 100s. In the following year Sir Paynel leased for life, at 16s. per annum, the five shops in Gold street to Adam le Cardemaker and Ivetta, his wife.

The same knight, in 1369, leased to John Palmer and Agnes his wife for forty years, by rendering yearly 12 pence and two capons at Michaelmas and Easter, a garden in "le Gobyonnes lane", and in 1373 he leased a garden outside the east gate,

with several acres of arable and meadow land, to John Myddleton, draper, for sixteen years, at a rental of 28s.

In 1558 a conveyance was executed from George Turpeyn of Knaptoft, Esquire, to Robert Harrison, of Stowe-Nine-Churches gentleman, of the manor of Gobion, with appurtenances in Northampton, Coton, and St. James' end, then in the occupance of the right worshipful Francis Morgan, serjeant-at-law. The purchase-money was £120 at the sealing of the conveyance, £20 on the next feast of Pentecost, "at the fountestone in Saint Paul's Church in London," and at the feast of Hilary a final sum of £100 at the like place.

The "final concord" with regard to this transfer of the manor of Gobion recites that it consists of three messuages, three tofts, three gardens, three orchards, six hundred acres of land two hundred acres of meadow, three hundred acres of pasture, ten acres of wood and underwood, and two hundred acres of heath and briar; as well as of a rent of £10, twelve geese and two capons, in Northampton, Coton, and St. James' end.

In 1565 Robert Harrison, of Stowe-Nine-Churches, released the manor of Gobion to his widowed mother, Elizabeth Harrison for her use and that of her heirs and assigns for ever. Eventually Gobion's manor or farm passed to Thomas Harrison, the surviving eldest son of Elizabeth, and formed part of his settlement in 1501 with Francis Bernard, of Abington, when he married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Bernard.

Thomas Harrison, in 1616, leased to William Smith, husbandman, all the arable, meadow, and pasture lands of Gobion's farm, together with the common rights in Northampton fields for three-and-a-half-years, at a rental of £30 per annum for three years, and a pepper-corn rent for the last half-year.

Meanwhile widow Elizabeth Harrison married Henry Travell, of Coventry, and the manor divided into three moieties after various legal formalities. Eventually, in October, 1617, Thomas Harrison leased a moiety of Gobion's manor to Henry Travell for a thousand years. On the back of this lease a note is written that on April 24th, 1622 Henry Travell assigned all his interest in Gobion's manor to Henry Cooper, mayor of Northampton, and others, who had purchased the reversion of the whole manor. Leases of the other moieties are endorsed after a like fashion.

On referring to the orders of assembly, the following entry occurs under date November 12th, 1621 —

Whereas Mr Thomas Cowper Maior for and in the behalf of the Corporacon hath bargayned with Thomas Harison gent for his Manoor or Farme Called Gobie Manoor with all the Messuages howses buildings arable lands meadows pastures Royalties and Commodities to the same belonging for the summe of three Hundred and twentie poundes, and thereof he hath given earnest, Item at this assemble the saide bargain is generallie well approved of and liked and therefore It is ordered that the saide Thomas Cowper Maior shall have no damage by reason of the saide bargaine, and that the Corporation shall defend and save harmless at all times the saide Thomas Cowper and his landes goodes and Cattells against the saide Thomas Harison for any trouble suite damage or hindrance may arise hereupon, And to thende the saide bargaine may be accomplished and paid it is ordered that these persons following, viz Mr. Thomas Cowper Maior, Henry Chadwick, Raphael Huntrey, Abraham Ventras, Thomas Bradford, Thomas Henry, Edward Collis, Aldermen, William Knight, Richard Wollaston, Thomas Gaoler John Harbert of the Companie of the Baylifs of the saide towne, John Bate and Henry Greene, two of the xlviij of the saide towne, shall have averie of them full power to view and appraise the Chamber landes, and to sell and make money of soe much lieds as will pay for the said bargaine and this to be done with all spede.

The larger part of the purchase-money was, however, raised on mortgage. The actual conveyance deed from Thomas Harrison to the mayor and corporation, dated April 20th, 1622, was deposited as security for mortgage with Mr. Robert Whitworth.

The principal one of the three messuages of Gobion's manor was that within the walls.

The manor house, with outbuildings, yards, and closes adjoining, that formed "the town farm," was situated on the north side of Abington street. It was in this part of the town that there was the greatest amount of unoccupied lands within the walls. The buildings were much damaged at the time of the great fire, and were subsequently pulled down. In 1685 Mr Robert Adys obtained a ninety-nine year lease of the homestead of Gobion's farm, at a yearly rental of £4, on condition of building a good and substantial house with a frontage to Abington street. At the same time Mr Adys obtained a lease of half of the town farm for twelve years at a rental of £40. The other half was let to Mr. Tomkins at a like rental. In 1744 the new homestead called "Grubbins Homestead," was leased for twenty-one years at £20 per annum.

In 1759 the corporation mortgaged to George Tompson, linen-

draper, the common fields pertaining to Gobion's manor for £300. The money was to be repaid within a year with five per cent. interest.

The enclosure act of 1778 (18 George III.), termed "An Act for dividing and inclosing the Open and Common Fields, Common Pastures, Common Meadows, and other Commonable Lands and Grounds, within the parishes of St. Giles, St. Sepulchre, St. Lawrence, and St. Andrew, in or near the Town of Northampton, in the County of Northampton, some or one of them, and which are commonly called or known by the name of Northampton Fields," assigned to the corporation 133 acres of land in lieu of divers parcels of land pertaining to Gobion's manor, that were dispersed in the open and common fields of Northampton. These acres, together with the farmhouse and homestead, brought in an income of £598 5s. in 1834, according to the inquiry instituted by the commissioners on municipal corporations.

The Guildhall.

The Anglo-Norman town of Northampton possessed a town hall as the centre of its corporate life. The brief account of its position, given by Henry Lee in his manuscript history, is probably correct. He says:—"the old Town Hall was in a little close adjoining to the last houses on the right hand in ye lane going from ye Mayorhold to Scarletwell, wch well was much esteemed in those times, there is a mark of stone work circular upon ye west end of ye little house y^t adjoyned to ye old Hall."

When the town was considerably extended, at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, it became necessary to have a larger municipal building, and to place it near the newly designed market square. Though the somewhat scant early history of our English towns establishes beyond doubt the fact that merchants and other trading guilds flourished in all our centres of industry from the time of Henry I. to Henry III., nevertheless, there was a remarkable growth and multiplication of these trading organisations from the time of Edward I. right on through the fourteenth century. Town life, too, began generally to be more busy and stirring from about 1300 to 1325, and it was at this period that many English towns were enlarged, re-walled, and supplied with new guildhalls and municipal offices.

So far as we can judge from old drawings and descriptions there seems no doubt that Northampton's second town hall or guildhall, which was erected at the corner of Wood-hill and Sheep-ing street, was built in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and it is equally certain that it was altered and enlarged in the latter part of the next century, probably immediately after the legislation of 1489, when an enlarged town council, approximating one hundred members, took the place of the popular assembly.

Several guide-book and other writers in Northampton, finding that the old assembly of the town met in the church of St. Giles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have only too absurdly assumed that they met there because there was no town hall. No student of municipal life could, however possibly fall into such a blunder. No ordinary building could hold a great assembly of the whole community; but whether that assembly met in the open air or in the nave of some large church it is obvious that a town hall would be a necessity for the deliberations of the mayor and his privy council, for the holding of civil and criminal courts, for the stamping of recognizances, for the enrolling of freemen, and for a great variety of other purposes incidental to municipal life.

As we shall subsequently see, the town found as trading companies increased, the guildhall inadequate for such purposes and built itself another large hall or guild-room in 1460 over the great conduit, on the lower side of Market square.

Several references might be given with regard to this town hall in its earliest days from deeds and evidences and from official documents at the Public Record Office, but we must here content ourselves with the entries that are to be found in the later municipal documents.

It will be noticed from the drawings that the old town hall was of three stories, the hall itself and the chief apartments being in the midst (Plate IV). When originally constructed the hall, and its adjacent rooms would be carried on pillars and arches, and would remain open beneath. This basement would be closed up when the building was altered and enlarged in the fifteenth century.

In 1574, the use of the "Lytell house under the Towne hall" was granted to George Higet and his wife, rent free, for their lives.

The Elizabethan period of 1586 shows that there were then actually nine small shops under the town hall

The assembly appointed a committee on March 30th, 1586-7 to view the shops under the town hall, with the intention of turning them into a town gaol, and to estimate the cost and go forward if they had sufficient money They were also empowered to invite voluntary contributions for the purpose

Two shops under the town hall were leased for twenty-one years at a rental of 28s on August 20th, 1607, and at the same time it was agreed that the town hall should be forthwith ceiled and benched round about at the cost of the chamber, "to the intent that the fourtie-eight Burgesses may take and order the sett themselves in assemblies and meetings as other the Companies of the Common Councell doeth"

The first order of the assembly that met on March 5th 1607 asserted that the town hall was very ruinous, and ordered its prompt repair at the town charge; save that the wall and gutter next Mr. George Kirke's house were to be repaired at the joint expense of Mr. Kirke and the chamber.

These repairs, however, if executed at all, must have been accomplished in a very perfunctory manner; for little more than three years later, namely on August 11th, 1631, it was again ordered by the assembly —" that the Towne hall being very ruinated and decayed shalbe fourthwith repaired throughout at the charge of the Chamber of this towne, and that there shalbe a flore and Roofe erected over the same hall and that the walls of the same shalbe raised sixe or seaven foote higher, and further as occasion shall serve."

Although the fire of 1675 spared the old town hall, with the exception of the outer staircase and certain lean-tos, the comparatively large sum of £220, raised by mortgage on corporation property, was spent in 1677 on its repairs The greater part of this would be used for the new staircase and portico shewn in the illustration, which is reproduced from a drawing made in 1719 now in the British Museum (Plate IV.)

The chamberlains' accounts, which are not extant until after the great fire, also contain a variety of entries relative to the building and its fittings, some of the more interesting of which of the seventeenth century, are subjoined —

THE GUILDHALL, NORTHAMPTON

From a drawing in British Museum, circa 1720.

THE GUILDHALL, NORTHAMPTON

(From a photograph by C. Lea, 1864.)

	£.	s.	d.
Matting the hall	0	12	0
Whiteing the hall and for Lyme and Mortar	0	3	8
3 yds and ¼th of greene Cloth	0	7	9
Pd the workman for fastening it to the table ...	0	0	6
Pd Oxley for mending the ledges and Seates in towne hall ...	0	1	2
Pd for cleaning the hall 4s and Beere for workman .	0	7	10
Pd Hodgmen for to paving Tyles for the Towne Hall .	0	1	3
Pd for the candlesticks att ye hall	0	1	0
Pd for payntiug the Hall staires ..	1	0	0
Pd Tho Hanson for Ironworke about hanging the Bell at Hall	0	14	0
Pd mending glasse windowes at Hall and an opper Light blowne downe	0	10	10
Pd Bland for new lead sawder etc at hall	5	9	0
Pd for bords to Lyme the Leads at hall	0	4	7
Pd Pendledon 5 days worke at hall	0	5	0

Other accounts for 1691 show that £2 6s. 2d. was spent on ting and cushions for the town hall. In the same year Mr. yes was paid £1 4s. 6d. for casting pewter dishes for use in town hall, and 10s. for two pewter candlesticks and two pew-pots.

In 1692, two shops were built under the town hall at a cost of 17 10s.

In 1700, 18s. 6d. was spent on pewter dishes for the town hall, d 2d. for engraving them.

In the following year a lantern was bought for the hall for 2s., d the firing cost £2 5s., viz., £2 2s. 3d. for thirty cwt. coal, and 9d for twelve faggots

On August 5th, 1703, the mayor and aldermen resolved to paint the old wainscoate in the Counsell chamber, and alsoe Lath and laster the Ceilinge or where else it is defective."

An exceptional use of the municipal buildings is recorded in 05, when £3 4s. 6d was paid to the chamberlain by Mr. Coysh for the use of the Town Hall to act their Playes."

In 1708, it was ordered that "a litle Bell be provided for the Course house," this was probably intended for use of the mayor as an order bell

Chairs were bought for the town hall at 5s. 9d. in 1723.

The mayor's accounts for 1724 shew that the town hall was then new-paved with freestone, at a cost of £2 7s 6d

In 1727, Mr. Robert Welsh was paid 10s. "for gilding the Fir (vane) at the Top of the Town hall."

The mayor and aldermen resolved in August, 1731, that "no Treat upon the Election of a Mayors Bailiffs be permitted to be had or made at the Town hall, if such a thing shall be attempted or offered at."

There seems, however, to have been no rule against smoking in the hall, though we may be confident that this was not done at any formal assembly, but at evening meetings of the aldermen, or of what we should now term committees. Pipes seem to have been provided at the cost of the town (though not as a rule the tobacco), and they are usually associated with the joint purchase of candles. Thus in 1692, 8s. 8d. was paid "for Candles and Pipes for the Hall." In 1698, 3s. was spent "on 2 grosse of Pypes for the hall." In 1703, 2s. 7d. was paid for six pounds of candles and half a gross of pipes. In association with this last entry (which is the only payment for tobacco that we have noticed, 1s. being spent on half a pound. Again in 1741, on October 12th half a gross of tobacco pipes and three pounds of candles were purchased for the hall.

An entry for the year 1754 looks as if there had been some distinct feasting or punch brewing in the town hall, notwithstanding injunctions to the contrary; in that year "4 dozen of Lemmons and Oranges" were purchased for the hall.

From the time of Queen Anne onwards there are several entries relative to the mending and gilding of "the Crown and Mitre"; probably this refers to some trophy or embellishment over the mayor's seat.

The following entries require no comment —

		£	s.	d.
1745-6	P^d Mr Fowler for a Testament for the Town Hall	0	1	0
1760-1	P^d the Kings Duty for the Corporation Plate ...	0	3	0
1771	A Sand box and bottle at town hall	0	1	3
1794	P^d for Covering the Desk at the Town Hall	1	14	5

In 1800 Mr Birdsall was paid £2 1s. for framing and glazing a print of Lord Nelson for the town hall.

In the same year Alderman Gibson paid £3 3s. "for the room undernethe Town Hall facing Mercers Row lately used as a Town Goal"; and Mr. Roddis paid £3 3s. for the "two rooms under the Town hall facing the Market Hill lately used as a Bridewell." This was clearly only the rental for part of a year, for next year the rental of the old gaol was £7, and of the bridewell rooms £13 14s. 0d.

The second town hall and its site were sold by auction, on August 25th, 1864, when they realised £1200.

The Town Gaols.

What the town did for gaols before they began to use the various divisions of the basement of the town hall, originally fitted up for shops, we are unable to say, except that in early Elizabethan days there was a small building termed "the towne gaole," closely adjoining the town hall, and having a door opening into Abington street.

Very probably, throughout the Norman, Plantagenet, and early Tudor days, some arrangement would be made by the town, whereby the confinement of their prisoners would be secured somewhere within the extensive premises of the castle.

In 1584 the assembly agreed that the shop under the town hall, then in the tenure of Thomas Harrison, should be made into a gaol for such persons as might be committed for debt, and not to be employed for any other purpose.

Two years later the assembly resolved that Mr. Mayor and some of his brethren should view the shops under the town hall, with the intention of making them a gaol, and to go forward with the work at once if they had sufficient money. It was further ordered that there should be a collection made for the same object from all such persons who will give anything.

The following order appears under date of April 2nd, 1610:—

"Whereas yt appeareth upon the accompte of the Chamberlains of the Corporacion exhibited this date that much money is spent out of the towne chamber in provideing of locks and irons for the safety of the prisoners committed to his Maties gaoles within the saide towne for in and about the safe kippeng of which saids locks and irons the bayliffs of this corporation have been much careless, soe as continualle new are bought. For redress thereof yt is ordered that hereafter the chamberlains shall neither provide nor keye anie locks or irons for the said gaoles, but that the Bayliffs shall provide them at their own charges."

It was reported in 1613 that the corporation gaols were

"Verie much out of repaire and verie weake for the deteyning and kepeing of prisoners safe without daunger to the Bayliffs and their officers insoemuch as verie manie escapes have been latelie made to their great damage. It is ordered that there shalle fourthwith disbursed out of the towne chamber x^li to be employed in and about the strengthening the same gaoles and in the meantime tille the gaoles shalbe soe strengthened there shalbe a watch appointed everie night at the towne charge for the waching and keeping safe of the prisoners and debtors thether committed."

A like order was made for repairing the gaols in 1619, owing to the continued escapes of the prisoners

In 1653 new iron bars were ordered for the gaol window, after the escape of three prisoners. Repairs to doors, locks, and bolts were frequently entered.

The chamberlains were ordered, on October 13th, 1664, to well and sufficiently strengthen and repaire the common gaols belonging to the town at the chamber's charge. The term gaols would refer to (1) the gaol for ordinary prisoners, (2) the debtor's prison, (3) the bridewell, or house of correction.

In 1675 mending "the Gaole window" cost £1 4s.

The town accounts invariably contain an entry of 20s. for emptying the gaol soil tub.

In 1715 the mayor and aldermen ordered the chamberlain to pay 12d a week to Thomas Good, a prisoner in the town gaol for felony "towards his maintainance till further Orders"

Sixpence was paid in 1727 "for a Bottle of Straw for a prisoner."

In 1728 the chamberlain for thirteen weeks paid a poor woman who was a prisoner in the gaol, 12d. a week "to maintain herself and Child", and in the same year Widow Easton was paid £1 10s. 6d. for bread for prisoners in the gaol

Irons for the "towne jaile" cost 4s. 10d in 1742.

Just at the close of last century the inconvenience and unhealthiness of the various small gaols under the town hall became so obvious, that the corporation abandoned their use, and secured a building at the corner of St. Giles' street and Fish lane for that purpose.

The assembly, in 1800, ordered that the Rev. John Stoddart should be presented with his freedom gratis, he "having taken much pains in attending the prisoners in the Towne Gaol without having or expecting any compensation for such attendance."

Houses of Correction and the Poor.

The sudden increase of vagrancy, caused by the dissolution of the monasteries, was the chief cause for the passing of the hideously cruel statute of vagabonds under Edward VI. A runaway servant was to be branded on the breast with the letter V, and adjudged to be the slave of any purchaser for two years The owner was "to give him bread, water, or small drink, and refuse

meat, and cause him to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise, at any kind of labour, though never so vile." If he absented himself for fourteen days at any time during the two years, he was to be branded on the forehead or cheek with the letter S, and adjudged to be the slave of his master for ever. A second offence was to be considered felony. Though idleness and vagabondage were thus terribly punished, this act was to a certain extent progressive in another direction, for it provided for the erection of convenient houses for the relief of the aged, crippled, and the weak

In London the king assigned a large house adjoining St. Bride's (Bridget) churchyard, Fleet street, for this purpose. Close by was an ancient well called after the saint, St. Bride's well, hence the name of the first house of this description. From this it came about that houses for the relief of the poor, but chiefly for the correction of the idle and vagabond became known as bridewells.

Although much of the act of Edward VI. was repealed, almost equally severe statutes were passed in the reign of Elizabeth. In 157[illegible] it was enacted that every corporate town should maintain a stock for setting the poor to work, and that there should be houses of correction or bridewells in every county. The legislation of 39 and 43 of Elizabeth led to the general establishment of poor rates levied by the parishes, of parochial workhouses, and of county and town bridewells; though even at the end of this reign there was no very clear distinction between the bridewell and the workhouse.

It was not until the year 1615 that the town of Northampton definitely established a house of correction. The corporation was naturally desirous to do this with as little expense as possible. The space beneath the town hall being already utilised as a gaol they decided to use the chambers beneath the conduit hall as the bridewell.

The following is the first resolution passed on this subject by the assembly :—

Whereas the Corporation is likelie to be much impoverished by the resorting of Avers and Vagrants to this towne who seak to plant themselves here, and wheare [illegible] they as other persons nowe here inhabiting having noe meanes will followe [illegible] vocation but live idly and by the spoyle of other mens goods to the [illegible] of others within this towne, For repressing whereof and all idle and [illegible] persons aoout this towne, It is ordered that there shalbe fourwith a [illegible] of Correction provided at the towne charge and a master appointed accord-

inglie to oversee and have the ordering of such persons as shalbe thither comytted from tyme to tyme And that all things in and about the same that shalbe fitt and requsite shalbe ordered at the discretion of the Maior Justices and Aldermen of this corporation.

Edward Downes, glover, was appointed the first master of the house of correction, but he resigned in 1617, in consequence of old age and infirmity.

The labour assigned to the inmates of the Northampton house of correction was the grinding of malt. In 1619 John Fisher, the master and a freeman, complained of "the greate hurte and detriment which doth arise and growe to him by reason that Arthur Smyth a forreyne Miller who inhabiteth within the liberties of this towne hath sett up the trade of grynding of maulte which dothe muche hinder the means appointed by the Corporation for the maintenance of the said house." In consequence of this complaint the assembly discharged Arthur Smyth from the grinding any more malt within the liberties, or following his trade as a miller unless he took up his freedom

In February, 1646-7, it was agreed that Mr. Smart should be master of the house of correction for the town, and should be paid the same allowance that Mr. Game had.

There was not so very much difference between the ordinary gaol and the place for the confinement of rogues and vagabonds, so that we need not be surprised to find that the chamberlains were ordered in 1657 to see to the immediate repair of "the Conduit Hall and the Prison underneathe."

In 1697 irons were provided for the bridewell, at the cost of 2s. 6d.

In the same year it was ordered by the court of aldermen "that unless John Boone provides tooles to sett poore Prisoners (that were committed to him) at work as Master of Bridewell by Lady Day next he be dismissed of his office and another person placed in his roome."

So far as regards the out-relief of the poor was concerned, the town of Northampton seems to have acted with wisdom and humanity. Its bye-laws in the early part of Elizabeth's reign were decidedly in advance of national legislation.

In 1569 it was ordered, for the better relief of the poor and their provision in wood, that no inhabitant of Northampton should sell any manner of wood by weight unless it hath been felled eight

months before such sale, under pain of 12d. to the poor man's box in All Saints' church, for every pennyworth thus sold. It was further ordered that the woodmongers shall cause their wood to be cloven and broken four months before sale, under a like penalty; that the wood when cloven was to lie dry in a house or under some hovel, under a like penalty; and that they sell no less than fourteen pounds for a penny. This last order was originally written "twentie," and fourteen has been written over it in a later hand. By the same order it was also provided that the mayor for the time being had authority to enter the houses and yard of any woodmonger to see that these ordinances were observed.

Some twenty years later an interesting attempt was made to regulate begging or seeking of alms.

The assembly agreed in 1585 that twenty-one poor people be allowed to have the badge of the town, and seven to go two days to the inns, and the next two days another seven, and so on, in order that they might completely "begge the towne." All others that had not the badge who were taken begging, to be committed to ward at Mr. Mayor's discretion.

It is not to be expected that town records would contain much with reference to the relief of the poor either in workhouses or their own homes, because this was done by the separate parishes. All Saints', however, was so closely connected with the corporation that there are some references to the relief of that parish as well as others of a general and humane description.

In 1598, an assessment was levied on the inhabitants and occupiers of lands within the parish of All Saints, whereby a sum of £13 6s 8d was raised "for the setting of the poore of the same parishe on worcke and for other uses according to an acte made in the parliament holden at Westminster in the xxxix^th year of the quenes raigne." The greater part of this money was still in hand in the following year, and the assembly disbursed most of this balance in payment of constables' claims of the different wards for moneys expended in the relief and conveyance of vagabonds and cripples passing through the town in accordance with the provisions of 39th Elizabeth. Strange to say a plumber's bill for the repair of All Saints' church was defrayed from the same source.

In 1623 there was a great multitude of poor in Northampton. A remedial measure adopted by the assembly was to check the

coming into the town of manservants and maidservants from foreign places. It was provided that henceforth no servants were to be engaged without the consent of the mayor and justices, and entry was to be made of each servant, whence they come, and what wages they received.

It is peculiarly interesting in these days when social schemes of relief through public works are so much discussed, to find that the town of Northampton adopted this method of dealing with the unemployed as early as the time of the Commonwealth.

It was reported to the assembly in December, 1647, that there was a multitude of poor people, being able-bodied labouring men, with families to maintain, in every parish in the town who were destitute of employment, and that if in those dear times and the great scarcity of victuals, no means was taken to find them work, many inconveniences and outrages to the disturbance of the peace might ensue. The assembly therefore agreed to raise £100 on those of ability to set the able-bodied immediately to work in the repair of the highways in every parish, and in other public affairs, wherein "the saide labouring men may be employed in worke and kept from idleness."

In August, 1649, the assembly voted £30 to be spent in buying charcoal at the best hand for the poor, that they may be able to buy it at easy rates in the winter; Mr. Giffard undertook to make good the £30 to the chamber in the following July.

In the mayor's accounts for 1701-2, £1 17s. 4d. is paid Mr. Richard Wallis for spinning-wheels.

Mr. William Pettitt was mayor that year, and a most energetic reformer. In a printed sheet of his accounts, of which a fragment only remains, he says:—"My being mayor with pains and charge sunk the poors roll nears 80l. per An. in the parish of All Saints by setting the poor to work, the girls to spinning, and the boys to prentice, and gave the old people the same allowance as formerly, or rather more."

In 1702 "Mr. Mayor is desired to pay down 4ᵘ to make up the sums given to the Poore att St Thomas last And it shall be repaid him or allowed him in his Accompt as Mayor."

The mayor's account for 1704-5 mention a payment of 3s for a spinning wheel, and 4s. 6d. "for Learning Betts' boy to spinn."

In October, 1728, the mayor and aldermen ordered a weekly payment of 3s., out of the profits arising from the tolls on corn, to William Chifford, "who is reduced to poverty."

In November of the same year the court instructed the chamberlain to make a weekly payment of 4s to the widow of Alderman Robert Styles, "who is fallen into poverty," towards her support and maintenance

At a meeting of the mayor and aldermen held in the Guildhall, on December 21st, 1741, it was ordered that the chamberlains do pay to Mr Mayor £20, to be by him distributed (amongst other public charity moneys) in charity amongst the town poor "in such manner as was settled by the said Mayor and Aldermen at a publique meeting in their said Guild Hall on December 18th"

Like sums were voted by the court on St Thomas' Day in several subsequent years, when the weather was exceptional severe, they were used to supplement the gifts made at such times by the recorder, borough members, or other charitably disposed folk of position.

£40 was voted for the relief of the poor during the inclement winter season of 1799-1800.

On December 9th, 1800, the assembly subscribed £100 to the fund for the relief of the distressed poor, provided that every member of the corporation be entitled to act on the committee and that the corporation be allowed 200 soup tickets, 162 of which to be disposed of by the 81 members of the corporation, and the remaining 38 by the mayor and justices.

In January, 1820, the assembly subscribed £100 in aid of the donation received from Earl Compton for the relief of the poor "at this inclement season."

St. George's Hall.

In addition to the town hall and conduit hall the town also possessed another fine hall of far larger dimensions. This was St. George's hall, situated on the south side of Abington street, not far from the market square It served as the guildhall for the most important of the town trades (the shoemakers), for various other meetings, and as a convenient store place for the properties that were used for the town pageants in "the good old days," and for the pewter and other vessels that the chamberlains kept for the town banquets.

The following was the town store of pewter kept at St. George's Hall in the time of Queen Mary:—

An Inventory made the xix^th day of January a^o 1554 in the terme of Willm Taylor mayor of all the town vesselles delyvered to Willm Harpoll chamberlayn by the handes of John Adams as foloweth—

First iij dosen of platters and ij dosen pewter dishys brode brynkyd
Item vij pewter dishys narroo brinket
Item xiij Sawsers
Item iij dosen of ley mettyll
Item vij spyttes w' vij handylles
Item ij payre of Rackes
Item iij long hingis of yron
Item ij payre of gymmes a old condyt cek and iij keys

"Gymmes," short hinges.

In the time of Elizabeth, when the meetings of the guilds and town pageants were going out of fashion, the corporation let this fine hall and its accompanying chambers to private tenants.

In 1568 the assembly resolved that as "Mr. John Kyrklande had been at great charge in the (re)building and maintaining of the great tenement called St. George's hall, which is likely to continue a considerable charge to him he be allowed to renew his lease for twenty-one years at the old rent."

In March, 1581, the assembly authorised Mr. Kyrklande to go to London that term to defend the matter brought by John Bradfeilde against Robert Story (Mr. Kyrklande's sub-tenant), for St. George's hall, the town to bear his charges.

Fortunately, we are able to give interesting information with regard to this hall, the very existence of which has hitherto been ignored by Northampton historians, from a series of depositions in answer to interrogatories made in May, 1581, on behalf of John Kyrklande, when it was sought to upset the claim of the corporation to these buildings. These papers are amongst the corporation records The actual words of the interrogatories are as follows.—

(1) Imprimis Whether doe you knowe a certayne house in Abington street in the towne of Northampton called St Georges halle or no

(2) Item howe longe have you knowne this same and to what use hath the same house been put and occupied these thirtie or fortie years passed or more and by whose appointment hath it bene occupied and whoe hathe occupied the same

(3) Item by whome hathe the saide house bene thirtie or fortie years ago or more repaired or amended and at whose charges has the same allwaies done as you have knowen or harde

(4) Item whether doe you knowe or have you harde the saide house hathe bene a Fraternitie and howe long is it sithence it was so accompted and howe knowe you it was a Fraternitie

(5) Item by what name the saide Fraternytie if any such were incorporate either by Master and bretherne or master and fellowes or suchelike and no what sorte the masters and brethern or master and fellowes have bene chosen and aboute what tyme the chousinge of them hath ceased and whoe hathe had the use thereof ever since

Item whether the master of the Fraternytie if any suche were had his office for a yere onlie or for life or for what other tyme and by whome the successor was chosen after the decease of any predecessor

Item whoe was master there laste when it was accompted a fraternytie and howe longe it is sithence there was a master or a Fraternite there

On May 19th, 1581, depositions in answer to these interrogatories were made at Northampton before Sir Robert Lane, George Carlton, Esq., Francis Samuell, Esq., and Thomas Sutley, gentleman, the commissioners

Robert Charles, clothier, aged 85, makes answer that he has known the house called St. George's Hall for forty-one years, that about twenty-five years ago, John Grene, fishmonger, occupied it by the appointment and leave of the mayor and chamberlains, that twenty-six years ago the mayor and chamberlains allowed thirty pounds unto John Baylye towards the repairs of St. George's Hall, and that he can say nothing to the last four interrogatories.

James Muse, miller, aged 58, deposes "that he hathe knowne the sayde house by the space of thirtie yeres or there aboutes and that immediatelie after the dissolution of the White Friars in Northampton where the shoemakers of Northampton were accustomed to keape their feastes the said shoemakers didymediatelie afterwards kepe theire feastes in the saide house called St. George's hall whiche they did by thappointment permyssion and license of the chamberlaynes of Northampton for the tyme being"; that about thirtie years ago John Baylie undertook to repair St. George's Hall for the town, and that he had heard the said John Baylie (who was his master), say that he had lost twenty nobles by it; to the last four interrogatories he can say nothing.

John Ballgay, haberdasher, 60 years of age, deposed that he had known St George's Hall for fifty years, and that he was one of the chamberlains when Anthony Brian was first mayor, which was thirty years ago; that he received the rent of the said house at the hands of John Prentice, then town clerk, and that

he repaired the same at the town charge, and that the same house was used "to laie in vessels spittes jackes brasse and suche like of the townes, and alsoe pageantes whiche vessels and utenselles aforesaid this deponent as chamberlaine did lett out to hire to suche persons as had neede of the same to the benefitte of the same towne and that he was constable to the same, and that he contynued in the same office foure yeres togither and used the like order"; that he hath not known that the house at any time has been a fraternity and that to the last three interrogatories he can say nothing.

William Buttler, shoemaker, age 52, deposed that he had known St. George's Hall for 37 years, and that during that time it belonged to the town of Northampton, and that it was occupied by the shoemakers in keeping of their feasts there immediately after the dissolution of the White Friars; that about 31 years ago John Bayhe shoemaker (being his master) repaired the house for the towne and that it cost him 20 nobles more than was allowed him, and to the last four interrogatories he can say nothing.

John Rowte, clerk, aged 70, deposes that he hath known the said house for fifty years in perfect remembrance and that the mayor and chamberlains of Northampton have always had the use and occupation of it as a "towne house" and have used the same to lay therein pageants and vessels of pewter and brass and suchlike at their pleasure; that there were two houses parcel of the same that fell down and were repaired again at the town charge about thirty years ago; that he has never known the said house to be called a fraternity or that it had ever belonged to any fraternity; that he never knew any master bretheren or fellows of any fraternity there, but that about 40 years since "one Johne Bonde and William Chamberlaine Esq called masters of St. George's hall and they were the laste; and that the mayor and his bretheren used to appoint two masters of the said hall yearly."

Robert Aman, shoemaker, aged 80, deposed that he had known the said house for 40 years, during all which time the chamberlains of the town have had the use of it, and that about that time "he beinge one of the Wardens of the Jornemen Shoemakers of the towne he and his companye with the lycence and consente of the

chamberlaines did keape their feaste and drinkine in the same house."

Richard Wattes, shoemaker, aged 54, deposed that he had known the said house 31 years, during which time it had been occupied for the use of the town, and that he being a journeyman at the atoresaid time "did make his repairs with others at suche tyme as the shoemakers did make their drinkinges in the same which was fouer tymes in the yere": that he hath heard say that the house did belong to the fraternity of St. George, and that it was called by the name of St. George's Hall, and that there were masters of the same.

John Longe, goldsmith, aged 60, deposed that he had known the house 40 years, during which time it had been occupied to the use of the town: that one William Fishe (his father-in-law), about 37 years ago, told him that he was chamberlain of the town, and did let for hire unto sundry persons such utensils, spits, vessels, jacks, and such like, which were always kept in the same house.

William Freeman, chandler, 52, deposed that he had known the house for 32 years, during which time it had been let by the mayor or chamberlain, and had been repaired at the town charge.

Thomas Dixe, shoemaker, 62, deposed that he has known the house called St. George's Hall 40 years, and that he with one John Russel "being wardeyns of the company of Jorneman Shoemakers of Northampton after the dissolution of the houses of Graye Friars and White Friars in Northampton by the space of one yere after that did travaile then with the Chamblaines of the towne of Northampton for that tyme beinge for as muche as they hadd no other place to make their accesse unto for the makinge of their drinkinges and alsoe meetinges And did hire of the said chamblaines the saide house called St. George's hall for the cause before alleged for the whiche they did paye quarterlie three shillinges"; that the towne did greatly repair the said house under one John Baylie, and that he never knew the house to be a fraternity.

The commissioners further state that they had brought before them one Christopher Barnarde, some time mayor of Northampton, to be examined, but his age, impotence, and weakness of wisdom was such that he couldn't directly answer any of the interrogations, and they thought it not convenient to proceed with him for fear of perjury.

Mr. Kyrklande evidently won the case, for in July of the same

year the freedom of the town was conferred on him gratis because of his travail in the suit about St. George's Hall.

The terrier of the town property for 1568 describes the house in Abington street, called St. George's Hall, as consisting of 18 bays, and paying an annual rental of 53s. 4d. This was by far the largest house and paying the highest rental of any possessed by the corporation. The nearest to it in size was a house of 9 bays close to the town dyke, by the west gate, and which payed a rental of 26s 8d.

A lower portion of St. George's Hall was used by the town in 1621 as a bridewell or house of correction, but this was only for a short time.

In 1668 the chamberlain was instructed to make an entry upon "the house and land called St. George's Hall," late in Mr. Gifford's possession, for non-payment of rent.

The remains of St George's Hall, which by that time had no doubt been almost altered beyond recognition, finally disappeared in the fire of 1675.

Markets and Fairs.

Prominent amongst town property come the markets and fairs, because the tolls and stallage received in connection with them always formed an important item of town revenue. The community of Northampton were endowed at an early date with fair-holding privileges, and with market rights. The great roads that passed through the town brought large gatherings to the fairs, and aided in keeping up well-attended markets.

The Chequer or Market square, and the streets immediately adjacent, such as the Drapery, were the general ground for stalls, which were strictly classified according to trades, and sites assigned to each. On the cattle market days the cattle were penned in the Market square, the sheep in Sheep street, the horses (entire) in the Horsemarket, the mares in the Marehold, and the hogs in the Hogmarket, on the lower side of the Marehold (which has of late years been ridiculously corrupted into Mayorhold), corn was dealt with on Cornhill, at the upper side of the Market square; malt on Malthill, on the east side of the square; whilst wood for fuel was sold to the east of All Saints' churchyard, a site that still bears the name of Wood hill.

The Northampton market days, according to the charter of 1599, were Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday; and this order was confirmed by the charters of 1618, 1683, and 1796.

In 1218 the King issued letters patent with regard to the regulation of "the fair of Northampton." "The fairs of Northampton" are referred to in the charter of 1257. No specific days nor names are given, nor their number, but there must have been at least two. By the charter of 1327 a fair of the exceptional duration of four weeks was granted to the town, beginning on the Monday next after the octave of the Holy Trinity. Two or three deeds, however, of the time of Edward I. show that there were then established at Northampton the two fairs of St. George the Martyr (April 23rd) and of St. Hugh Bishop (August 9th), so that the long Trinity fair was an additional one to the two of older foundation. The Trinity fair does not seem to have been of long duration. The charter of 1495 does not mention it, but definitely established those of St. George and St. Hugh. It is laid down that these two fairs shall begin on the day preceding the Saint's day, and shall be continued for the six days following it, provided they were not hurtful to neighbouring fairs. A fair lasting for an octave was not unusual for those of importance in connection with our larger English towns.

The charter of 1599 authorised the holding of seven fairs or marts within the town, on the following feasts:—St. George the Martyr (April 23rd), St Hugh (Nov. 17th), the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8th), the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (March 25th), the Conception of the Blessed Virgin (Dec. 8th), the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (Aug. 15th), and St. James the Apostle (July 25th). Each fair was to begin on the day preceding and to conclude on the day following the feast. The fair of St. James in the pre-reformation days, was one of considerable importance and value. It was held at St. James' End on the land immediately adjoining the west bridge, which belonged to the abbey of St. James, and was a frequent source of dispute between the town and the abbey. In Elizabethan days the town obtained sanction to maintain it, and it was held on ground termed the abbot's meadow. The charters of 1618 and 1683 confirmed these seven fair days to the town, the former, as will be recollected, admitting St. James' End within the borough boundaries.

We now proceed to give the more important of the market and fair entries from the later town records.

It was agreed by the assembly in 1582 that the sheep pens were not to stand forth so far as heretofore, but that there was to

be left on each side of the channel at least six foot for passage under pain of ten shillings. This order was re-enacted in 1585, with an additional prohibition against anyone setting up or making any sheep pens in any lane or place whatsover, but only from the corner of Mr Blythe's house (in a later hand) "now the signe of the Redd Lyon,' and Mr. Burrowes' house, "uppe directhe to St Pulchres Churche."

The assembly in 1594 rehearsed the order of 1585, and determined that it should continue in full force and effect "joyning to the same that it shall or maye be lawfull to sell sheep pennes from the corner of Mr. Blythe's and Mr. Wentworth's house down to Mr. Reynfforde's dore soe as there be left for the passage of people a yarde and a halfe space on either syde of the channel uppon payne in the saide recited order specified and expressed."

This order meant that an open passage nine feet wide was to be left in the midst of the street. There were then no foot paths, and the street always sloped towards the middle of the way, which was occupied by a paved channel.

In 1655 it was resolved to see that the old orders of 1582 and 1585 be better observed, and several citizens were nominated who should "betymes in the morning of every faire daie walke throughe the saide sheepe markett and view the said penns."

In 1585 the assembly agreed that every market day, during the time of the corn market, there shall attend upon the mayor to oversee the market two aldermen, two bailiffs, and two of the forty-eight. Every one was to be summoned in turn, the members being duly apprised of their turns by the mayor's serjeant. Aldermen making default, when duly summoned, were to be fined 6s 8d., bailiffs 5s., and forty-eight men 3s 4d.

The assembly, in 1595, confirmed and revised the following ancient table of tolls, payable by those who sold or bought cattle or beast in the markets and fairs of Northampton (other than the freemen), and instructed the bailiffs to see to their due collection —

Every bull, oxe, cowe, bullock, steere or runt	1d
Every boare, hogge, sowe, shote, and store	1d
A score of sheep	4d
Ten sheep	3d
Under ten and above five sheep	2d
Under five sheep	1d

The bailiffs were ordered to give to every buyer paying toll as above "a token for the many festing of his buying in open market

the same beastes and cattell." The seller paid the like toll on tering the town

A suit arose in 1597, in the court of Queen's Bench, against illiam Wheeler and Robert Roser, late bailiffs of the town, uching the taking of toll of beasts. The assembly, on September th resolved to make the cause their own, and authorised the hamberlain to pay all the charges of the bailiff in defending the it and maintaining the ancient toll-rights of Northampton.

The 1595 table of tolls was further revised in 1599.—

Every bull, oxe, cow, bullocke, runt, stere, or weyned calfe	1d
Every boare, hogg, sowe without sucking pigs, shoate, and stoare or weyned pigg	½d
Every sowe and pigges	1d
Sheepe, hoggerells, and lames weyned everie twentie	6d
Under twentie and above fiftene	5d
Under fiftene and above tenne	4d
Under tenne and above five	3d
Under five for evey sheepe	½d

This table underwent another slight revision in 1600, when the toll on pigs was raised from ½d. to 1d., the one half of the seller, and the other half of the buyer.

Queen Elizabeth died on March 24th, 1603. The news speedily reached Northampton, and the mayor made proclamation abandoning the Lady-day fair that had just opened. Later on in the year, at the end of the bailiffs' term of office, the assembly voted them compensation because of their loss of tolls on that occasion.

An order of 1605 names Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday as the three market days, and also recites the seven fair days assigned to the town by the charter of 1599. It is interesting to note that the Assumption of our Lady (August 15th) is named as "commonlie called the first Ladie daye in harvest," and the Nativity of our Lady (Sept. 8th) as "commonlie called the latter Ladie daye in harvest."

In each case the fair was for three days, including the day before and the day after the special feast. If any of the fairs fell upon Sunday then they were to cease from buying, selling, or showing any kinds of wares or merchandise until the following Monday. In order that the people might have reasonable time for the making and doing of such markets, it was provided that the market bell is to be rung at twelve, and every person to keep that hour, and before

The tolls on cattle and beasts were at this time again somewhat altered. The assembly resolved that the bailiffs, their deputies, servants, or assignes should

Have take and levy in all and singular the fiaires and markets aforesaide toll and toles or tolage for byeyng beastes in faires and markets aforesaide soude and bought of the buyers and sellers thereof as foloweth, that is to saye for every bull oxe, cowe, bullocke, runt, steare, wayned calfe, bore, hog, sowe, shot, shore, and weyned pig bought and solde one penny of good and lawfull money of England for the tole of the same, the one halfe of the buyer and the other halfe of the seller for Rams, ewes, hoggrells, weyned lambes, and all manner of sheep bought and solde for everie twentie eight pence of lawfull English money, where under twenty and above fiftene sixe pence, where under fyftene and above tenne fyve pence where under tenne and above fyve foure pence, where under fyve a halfe pens for everie sheep, the one halfe of all the same toles to be taken of the buyer and the other halfe thereof of the seller, And that the baylyfs for the tyme being their servaunts, deputies, and assignes, and everie of them for and in the name of the Maior Baylifs and Burgesses of the towne of Northampton aforesaide shall and may levie the tole aforesaide of everie person refusing to pay by distraynyng and detayning of the beastes aforesaide solde and bought, until the tole aforesaid be to them paide.

In this same year (1605) an order was made that no man occupying any stall should leave his stall standing when the market was done, but that he should carry the same to his house or to his inn upon pain of forfeiting the stall, but this order was not to apply to "suche stalls as be rented to our sovereigne Lorde the King and that stande faste in the grounde."

A curious enactment was made with regard to the sale of cabbages in Northampton market in 1644, in these words —

Whereas) the Cabbidgemen doe very much annoy the places where their stalls stands everie market day to sell their Rootes and Cabbidges uppon, It is agreed and ordered that whoesoever hereafter shall standing in anie place in the said towne upon anie markit day to sell anie Cabbidges or there Rootes upon, and doe not cause the places where their stalls stand to be clensed upon the Munday morning in everie week and the muck thereof to be carried away that the person or persons as shall offend herein shall forfeit and pay xijd for everie severall offence.

The market and fair tolls on beasts, and the traverse toll (to which reference is afterwards made) were usually termed the great tolls; they were collected by the bailiffs, or leased to collectors. The term small tolls chiefly applied to the customary town charges on the sale of corn on the market hill, or upper side of the market, and of wood at the lower side of market, at Wood Hill.

With regard to the town tribute on corn, there were some curious and interesting customs, which were continued till a late date; the toll was collected in kind. Reference is made in the *Liber Custumarum* to a miller's stamped toll dish, which was the measure used by the town miller as the charge on each sack of corn that he ground for the townsmen. In the same way, the bailiffs or their agents were accustomed to use a measure wherewith they took out a certain quantity of grain from each sack of corn brought to Northampton market. This custom prevailed till about 1775, and was distinctly recollected by three of the oldest witnesses at the great toll case of 1832. One of them described the measure as a bowl, and another as a large basin that held a little more than a quartern. The toll collector dipped the measure into the sack, took it out full, but not heaped up, and then emptied it into a bag which he carried. It also came out in evidence that at that time it was the custom for the farmer to take in his corn and leave it at the inn where he put up, save one sack which was pitched in the market and stood as a sample for the rest. It seems that this toll in kind was only exacted from the sample sack. When corn dealers began to adopt the more convenient plan of a sample bag instead of a sample sack, this toll in kind seems to have died out.

The first reference to the Wood Hill tolls is among the orders of assembly for 1585, when it was enjoined that everyone bringing any 'woodd, haye, strawe, or any other kynde of fewell on the Wood Hill to sell, shall pay a pennye for every carte loade that they shall offer to be sold to Hodgskyns the Bellman."

In 1672, Robert Coles, huckster, who formerly took the Wood Hill toll set forth in a petite acte the assembly that on market days the hill is filled with carriages of wood and other fuel, but that the ground on the south side adjoining the churchyard wall of All Saints stands void, and asked leave to use that space for carts when the hill was full. The assembly granted his prayer on condition that Coles kept the void space paved and clean from dirt, and kept the same way clear from carts and block on all other market days.

It was ordered in 1689 that John Elborough, the late crier, receive the Wood Hill toll every other week gratis, he keeping the same clean and in good repair; and that John Pendleton, hall-keeper, receive the toll on the alternate week, he paying 50s. for the same per annum, and keeping it clean and in good repair; and

that the rent of 50s. be paid to John Dunckley towards the support of him and his family.

Other references to the Wood Hill tolls will be found under the accounts of the bellmen, beadles, sextons, and serjeants, to whom these tolls were sometimes assigned.

It was ordered by the court of aldermen, in 1606, that those who sold roots in the women's market should be removed unto the ancient place against the Mercers' Row, "from John Spring's corner downe to the Common Pump there." The mayor was desired, as clerk of the market, to forthwith enforce this removal.

The women's market was then held in an open space at the west front of All Saints' church. This was before the portico was built.

On February 5th, 1702, it was ordered by the mayor and aldermen that any person riding a horse on the gravelled part of the Market hill to pace or make a show of him, tending to spoil the said hill, shall forfeit to the mayor for each offence 12d. Should the offender refuse to pay, he was to be prosecuted for a common nuisance.

In 1729 George Gambell, mason, entered into a contract with the corporation for the repair of "the upper part of the market hill known by the name of the Wheat Hill."

The charter of 1796 assigns nine fair days to the town, each of them really for three days, as in previous charters. The days named are February 20th, April 5th, May 4th, June 10th, August 5th, August 26th, September 19th, November 28th, and December 19th. It will be noted that these nine days include the seven old feast days of the Church mentioned as fair days in the 1569 charter, but adhering to the old style, and paying no attention to the rectification of our calendar in 1752, when eleven days were left out. Thus April 5th is old Lady-day, and May 4th old St. George's day. The two new dates were February 20th and June 19th, introduced, we suppose, to fill up gaps, and not celebrating any particular event sacred or profane.

In 1822 the chamberlain's accounts include an entry of £6 16s 3d for "putting down sockets for posts in order to preserve an uninterrupted carriage way on the west side the Market place on Saturdays."

The Market Cross, Weights and Measures.

In the centre of the market place or open square of the towns of Christendom there always stood a market cross. Originally nothing more than a lofty carved cross or crucifix of stone, standing on a base of circular steps as an incentive to Christian trading, it generally gave way to a more or less pretentious building, usually open at the sides, and suited in various ways as a centre for market conveniences. Such a building generally retained the name of the Market Cross. It was the precursor of all subsequent covered market halls.

Mention is made of the market cross of Northampton in several fourteenth and fifteenth century deeds. It is not known whether the cross in the centre of the market square was then anything more than a central cross, but a large and imposing structure was erected there in 1535, which bore the title of the market cross. An illustration of this old market cross, enlarged from a pencil drawing in Dash's copy of Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, in the British Museum, appeared a few years ago in *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries;* but this drawing, in common with other supposed views of the town before the fire, is clearly imaginary. The following detailed account of the building is taken from Lee's MSS.:—

In ye v^th yeare of ye Reigne of King Henry 8th, Anno Dni 1535, Laurence Rainy Mayor, was the Cross in the Markett Place made, there were 8 large [illegible] sett in the Ground ab' 2 feet high cutt and carved, and upon them 8 large [illegible] of Timber with carved Work upon them. They did bear up ye Roof, and y^e [illegible] from one Piller to the next piller was arched and carved. In ye middle was 3 [illegible] rounds of Stone to sit upon, and to go up from ye middle of ye Cross [illegible] paire of staires into the Lanthorne or little Chamber where were lodged [illegible] Strike and other Utensells belonging to ye Markett, and a doore at ye foot [illegible] lockt up from Markett to Markett. The whole Cross was covered all over [illegible] and ye Lanthorne well glased and little Posts from every square all [illegible] with Lead and Apes at ye Tops of them with little Iron Rods in their hands [illegible] ye Tops of them. The Compass of ye Cross was so large y^t betweene [illegible] and ye outsides of ye cross where Battelments were built I have [illegible] walk several times. The whole was sett out and beautified with branches [illegible] upon all squares little parcels of lead like coats of arms guilt, and a [illegible] to ye place.

After the fire the site of the old market cross remained vacant [illegible] when it was occupied by a meaningless and useless [illegible] structure called the Obelisk. It was found to be very incon-[illegible], and was taken down in 1806 to make way for a pump.

In 1826 the pump was removed, and gave place to a large gas lamp.

As to the town weights and measures, there are abundant references in the first volume of this work to the importance attached to these being standard and true (pp. 276, 310, 323, 337, 373, 375, 376). Reference has also been made to them when considering the position of Northampton's mayor as clerk of the market. From the early days when that privilege was conferred on the mayor, the town would possess standard weights, etc., of its own, and would not be dependent on those carried about by the king's clerk of the market or his deputies. Moreover by the elaborate statute on this subject of 11 Henry VII., cap. 4, every city, borough, and town were bound to provide themselves "with a common balance with common weyghtes and common measures marked according to the standard of the exchecker." In the schedule to the act Northampton is named as the town for the safe custody of the standards for the whole shire.

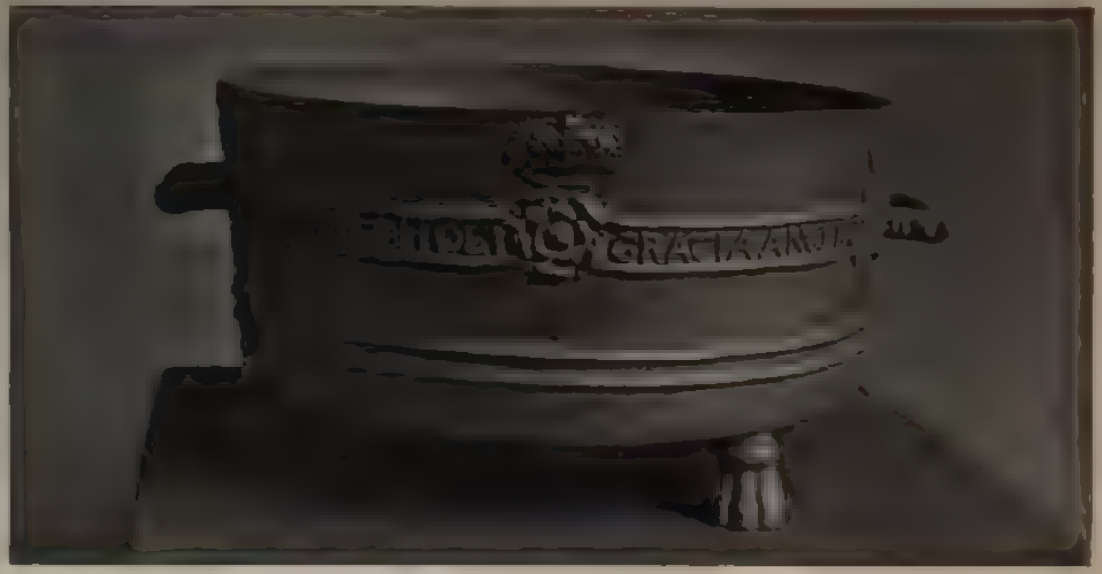
With regard to the standard weights and measures that used to be kept in the lantern of the market cross, it may be remarked that, owing doubtless to their frequent renewal, consequent upon different statutes, very few old examples remain; Cambridge, Derby, and Lancaster are exceptions. The last of these three boroughs has Elizabethan examples of the same date and pattern as the valuable and interesting ones that are now in the Northampton Museum.

There are in the town museum four weights—of 56 pounds, 28 pounds, 14 pounds, and 7 pounds respectively—all marked with a crown and EL. for Elizabeth, and bearing the A.D. date of 1588, and the regnal year XXX.

There are also two Elizabethan measures. The largest is a handsome circular bushel (the "market strike" of Lee's MSS.) of heavy bronze or bell metal, 11t. in depth, and 1ft. 7in. in diameter, with the inscription:—"ELIZABETH DEI [a crowned rose] GRACIA ANGLIÆ [a crowned portcullis] FRANCIA ET [a crowned fleur-de-lis] HIBERNIÆ [a crowned rose] REGINA, 1601." (Plate V.) The second is a corn gallon with E R. under a crown, and the further inscription ELIZABETH REGINA, 1601.

There is also a metal-rimmed wooden stamped quart corn measure, inscribed CORN CORPORATION OF NORTHAMPTON. 1771.

A bronze quart and a bronze pint measure are both stamped on the edge of the rim with W.R. under a crown, *temp.* William III.



Elizabethan Standard Bushel.

PLATE V

"A sett of Corne Measures" was purchased by the town in 1664, at a cost of 9s. 10d., of which the two last-named are doubtless part. In 1750 "a pair of large Scales for the use of the Corporation" was bought for 7s., brass weights to be used therewith for 12s., and beams for the scales for 7s. 6d.

Before the fire, a bell hung in the lantern of the market cross, to be used for all market purposes. Afterwards the handbell of the crier seems to have sufficed.

It was agreed in 1641 that the market bell should ring at 12 o'clock every market day, and if the bell was not rung that it was lawful for any man to sell his corn at that hour. It was further ordered that the country should have notice of this resolution by the bellman on four or five consecutive market days.

The Pillory, Tumbrel, and Stocks.

The keeping of the assize of bread, wine and beer, and the correction and punishment of the same was secured as a chartered privilege to the mayor in 1385, though in all probability that right had been exercised for a long time before that date. The old judgment of the pillory and tumbrel, according to the use of Northampton, has been given in detail in the previous volume (pp. 314-321). A tumbrel was originally a clumsy farm cart, with solid wooden wheels used for the conveying of dung, and hence it came to be used for the wheeled ducking stool on which an offender was strapped in the market place, and thence wheeled off to the nearest stream, river, or pond of sufficient depth. The common notion that a ducking stool was intended for scolding women is altogether erroneous; the tumbrel or ducking stool was occasionally thus used in later times, but the mediæval punishment for the abusive woman was the scold's iron bridle, the tumbrel being kept for those who persisted in giving false measure or inferior quality of beer or wine. Possibly our forefathers thought there was a fitness in assigning this rude water punishment to the offending dealers in liquor. The baker, butcher, or cook who swindled his customers was, on the contrary, condemned to the pillory.

The roughness and cruelty of both these punishments is sufficiently obvious, when we find that one of the duties of the Northampton market jury was the annual inquiry whether both tumbrel and pillory were strong and well repaired, so that if any man or woman was condemned thereto they might lose neither

life nor limb. This inquiry was to be made in accordance with the statute of the pillory and tumbrel (51 Henry III.)

In the south-east corner of the market square, almost in front of the great conduit, and not far from the guildhall, stood the Northampton pillory. It would consist of a wooden erection with holes for the head and hands, and would probably be raised on steps or a platform of stone. It would also serve as the public whipping post, and would have handcuffs specially arranged for that purpose.

Among the Acts of the Privy Council, under date January 28th, 1551-2, is the following relative to a seditious song by a townsman of Northampton:—"A lettre to Nicholas Rande, Mayor of Northampton, and Fraunces Morgan, to examine whether the song that they have enformed was sung by William Tomson was of his own making, and in caase it be so found, to cause him to be set on the Pillorie and cause both his eares to be cut off and in case the same song shall appeare to be of others doing, then to send the sayd Tomson up hither to be farther examined."

In 1612 the assembly ordered that the pavement from the pillory to the market cross be repaired at the town charge.

In 1732, and again in 1737, there is a charge in the chamberlain's accounts of 6d. "for cleansinge the Pillory." This would doubtless be requisite after some unhappy offender had been pelted with the market rubbish and offal. In 1747 a shilling was paid "for mending the handcuffs of the pillory and for putting them on."

In the small picture of the market place, forming one of a series of views round "The South West Prospect of Northampton," published in 1754 a small set of stocks, pillory, and whipping post combined in one, is shown at the south-east angle of the square.

The Northampton market place pillory was used at exceptionally late dates, namely, on March 23rd, 1811, and on April 23rd, 1814, on each occasion for offenders against decency.

The town stocks also stood in the market place. In 1634 we read that John Daniel, a town constable, set "one of ye Kings Guard in ye stocks of ye Town which cost him £3, imprisoned loss of office, and other trouble, and the stocks burnt on the Cornhill."

Usually, where there was a pillory, stocks formed part of the same structure, or at all events stood on the same platform. Probably this arrangement was interrupted at Northampton after

he old stocks were burnt in 1634, apparently by infuriated ploughers. At all events, in 1675, and on three or four subsequent occasions, entries are met with of labourers being paid for "moving" or "removing" the stocks. From this, we suppose that they were, at one time, specially erected when required, being brought out from some receptacle in the guildhall or gaol. At Corby, in this county, there are still a set of moveable stocks. A set of stocks on low wheels is now preserved at the parish church of Shoreditch.

The Traverse Tolls

A far more lucrative and exceptional source of revenue to the town of Northampton than the market and fair tolls were the traverse or passage tolls, which were ancient dues charged on beasts and burdens passing through or entering the town.

The origin of such a toll is easy to understand. Right through the centre of Northampton, north and south, and east and west, ran two main roads, king's highways, the one from south to north being the most important route from London to the northern towns and districts, and therefore of primary importance. These roads had to be kept in substantial repair right through the liberties of the townsmen of Northampton, being paved throughout when within the town walls. This must have been a constant source of expense to the inhabitants. Moreover, Northampton was a town in the royal demesne, and as such had to pay to the crown or its designs an annual fee-farm rental, which was very heavy in the earlier days, according to the then value of money. It was not unusual in such cases, for the crown to grant to royal demesne towns certain special privileges as a sort of set-off to the rental. At Northampton this privilege took the form of a traverse or passage toll.

There seems no manner of reason to doubt that this traverse toll was an accomplished custom even before the first of the town charters. At all events it was thoroughly well established as early as 1274. The most interesting of all the early records pertaining to the town of Northampton is the very full result of the great inquisition held that year, which is given at the head of the Hundred Rolls for the county of Northampton. The object of the inquiry was to certify in each county as to the demesne manors the king had in his hands; by what warrant alienated manors were

held; of suits, ancient customs, services, etc., withdrawn from the king or his ancestors; and of liberties granted which impeded common justice, or subverted the king's power.

The roll, rendered in English, opens as follows:—

Town of Northampton. An inquisition made at Northampton by twelve jurors of the same town, in the third year of the reign of King Edward before the Lords William de St. Omer and Warin de Chaucombe, justices of the lord the King, to wit, by Roger de St Martin, Henry Atte Gate, Jordan le Cheval, Laurance de Bolton, Osbert de Crouthrop, Geoffrey de Overston, Adam de Corder, Thomas de Pippewell, Ralph de Thorp, Robert Keylmers, William de la Suriegien, and John de Campden, who say upon their oath [under the head of "Ancient Suits, Customs, and Servicess"],—

That Simon de Bryctewell, Bailiff of the Lord Edward, Earl of Cornwall, in the King's Highway which is called Saltstrete and the Lord Roger de Wanton, at the Bridge of Billinge, have withdrawn from the King and the Bailiffs of Northampton, now by four years the Customs and Tolls which the Lord the King and his Bailiffs of Northampton, at all times *there* have been accustomed to receive and have; and which Customs and Tolls they have so appropriated to themselves, by what warrant they know not, to the damage of the Lord the King and his Bailiffs of Northampton by the year of half a mark and upwards

Also they say, that the men of Simon Fitz Henry, of Hastings, trading in the town of Northampton, are accustomed at all times to give Tolls for their merchandizes sold and bought in the same, and which Toll, by advowry of the house of Huntingdon, now by seven years they have withdrawn from the King and Commonalty of the town of Northampton, by what warrant they know not, to the damage of the Lord the King and the whole Commonalty of the town, twenty shillings and upwards

Also they say that Henry Ponteys of Jakeslee, avowing himself a man of the Master of the Hospital of Dyngele, now by years hath withdrawn his Toll, which he was accustomed to give for his merchandizes bought and sold in Northampton, by what warrant they know not, to the damage of the Lord the King and his Bailiffs in Northampton, by the year 20s.

Also they say, that the men of Laurence de Preston have withdrawn which they have been accustomed te give in Northampton avowing themselves to be of the honour of Huntingdon to wit, the men of Preston, Wootton, and Billinge, by what warrant they know not, to the damage of the Lord the King and the Bailiffs of Northampton of half a mark and upwards by the year.

In the great toll case of 1831, to which further reference will shortly be made, these extracts from the Hundred Rolls were more fully discussed and wrangled about by the leading counsel on each side, as well as by the Lord Chief Justice, than all the other numerous old documents that were cited. In fact the judge's supposed misinterpretation of these extracts was made one of the chief grounds for an appeal. We venture, however, to say, that although much ingenuity was displayed in giving a diversity of in-

terpretations, that no one arrived at the true and simple solution, which is quite obvious when compared with other documents of a like character.

The word *there* [*ibidem* in the Latin] in the midst of the first paragraph of the jury's findings, refers to the two places outside Northampton on the east side, where the bailiffs of Northampton had been accustomed to gather the traverse tolls from laden carts and pack-horses.

Where traverse tolls had been established, it was customary in early days to fix upon toll-gathering points at some distance from the town, with the double view of avoiding confusion with the local traffic of freemen, which would probably have been the case if the tolls had been collected at the town gates or in the town itself; and of preventing the evasion of the toll by turning aside on tracks through the open country, so as to pass round the town instead of through it.

A great deal was said at the trial as to the position of Salte Strete, which it was assumed must have been a name of a street in the town. But the fact is that the name Salt Street was frequently given to the main thoroughfare leading to towns of importance over which the loads of salt were carried.

Salt production was for several centuries one of the chief occupations in England. It certainly came next to agriculture and fishing. At the Domesday Survey mention is made in six shires of 727 salt works, each paying rent to their lord. In English mediæval economy, salt was far more of an essential than at the present day. It was used in small quantities for dairy, culinary, and several manufacturing purposes, but chiefly as a preservation for the curing of provisions. The complete absence of fresh winter food for cattle, and the impossibility of maintaining the summer stock of sheep and swine through the winter months, led to the practice of killing off large quantities of beasts and sheep, as well as pigs, about Martinmas, and salting them down for winter use. The same was done in the royal forests, the accounts of which, whenever preserved, always make mention of the salt provided, and the great larders built for the storage of the autumn killed venison. Salt from brine springs was but little used in these parts, it was carried hither from the nearest sea coast. After the Norman conquest, salt was manufactured in great abundance by evaporation in shallow pans on our eastern sea coast. The salt for

Northampton would doubtless come through Peterborough from the Wash, and would reach the town by way of Wellingborough, so that it may safely be assumed that Salt Street was but another name for that which is now known as the Wellingborough Road. It is hardly necessary to say that the word street then meant merely a *strata via*, and was just as applicable to an artifically made road in the country, as to a paved one in the town. It may further be remarked that salt was even a greater essential in Northampton than in the majority of other towns, because of the large amount of beasts brought to its market, and of its great and ancient industry in connection with the turning of hides into leather. There was a trading fraternity of the salters of Northampton from the earliest days.

The jury, then, at this inquisition of 1275, declared that the bailiffs of the Earl of Cornwall and of Lord Roger de Wanton had, for the last four years, collected the Northampton traverse tolls for their own lords, at two stations, namely, a certain place on the Salt Street and at Billing Bridge, where the bailiffs of Northampton had previously placed their agents for a like purpose.

The other three findings of the jury just quoted, establish the general custom of these tolls through complaint being made of illegal evasion.

In the first volume (p. 62) a transcript is given of the presentment of a jury under pleas of the crown held at Northampton in 1330. On that occasion complaint was made that the bailiffs of Northampton were collecting traverse tolls of one penny from every cart-load of wool, wax, or other merchandise, and a farthing for every horse-load at Slipton, a township fifteen miles from Northampton, and on the Wellingborough side of Thrapston The objection raised to this procedure was, that by collecting tolls at this place carts and laden horses passing to Rothwell and Leicester or elsewhere to the north, were here intercepted and made to pay the Northampton toll. The bailiffs and others of the town of Northampton declared that the toll pertained to the fee-farm of Northampton, and that it was collected at Slipton as long ago as the time of Henry III. It was ordered that the bailiffs were only to take toll there from those who were avoiding the town of Northampton with intent to evade the customary toll.

More than a century after this date, there were three customary places some distance from Northampton at which this traverse toll

was collected, as appears from the *Liber Custumarum*, viz.:—Billing Bridge, about four miles east from Northampton; Syresham Cross; to the south, about three miles out of Brackley, with which borough there was great commerce in wool; and Slipton*, near Thrapston, which has just been mentioned.

At a later period, apparently in the time of Elizabeth, the habit of collecting the traverse toll at distant points ceased, and the dues were gathered on entering the town or even in the town itself. In the old days the bailiffs' agents at the distant points gave tokens to those who paid, which were delivered up at the borough gates. The first reference that we find to these tolls, in the later records of the town, is an order of assembly passed on June 7th, 1582, which runs as follows:—

Forasmoche as of late yeares it hathe ben accustomed by those which have ben late baylyves of the saide Towne of Northampton to Lett the Tole of passengers with packe-horses, Cartes, Waynes, and suche lyke to one. . . Hervys of Kingsthroppe and others of Kingsthroppe aforesaide who have not only used to exacte Tole of the Fremen of the saide Town of Northampton but also accustomed to take and gather the said Tole at Kingsthroppe aforesaide oute of the Liberties of the saide Towne of Northampton, For reformation whereof it is at this present assemblye for ever established that no freeman shall have at any tyme hereafter anye suche kinde of Tole exacted on him or them by anye Bayliffe or Baylyffes of the same Towne of Northampton or anye other which shall or maye lawfully clayme the premisess by, from or under them or any of them and that no inhabitante of the said Towne of Northampton which hereafter shalbe Baylyffe, or Bayliffes of the same Towne, shall let or sette the saide kinde of Tole to any forreyner or others excepte he or they be franchized in the saide Towne upon payne of everye one which shalbe Bayliffe or Baylffes as is aforesaide Making defaulte of the contrary for everye defaulte, Fyve Poundes to thuse of the Chamber of the saide Towne of Northampton. The Partie or Parties so offendinge and Refusinge to paye to be by the Maior for the tyme being comytted to prison until he or they shall paye the said penalte of Fyve Poundes.

For more than a century the town records are quite silent with regard to these tolls; the leases that the bailiffs entered into would probably be recorded in the missing books of these officers. The next document that we meet with is a well-worn copy on parchment of a toll-lease for 1715, which was probably carried in the pocket of the lessee or of his agent in case of dispute.

To all whom these presents shall or may concern—We whose Hands are hereunder written and Seals affixed Bailiffs of the Corporation of Northampton in the

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*See vol. . p. 222, where Slapton is an obvious mistake in the customary or its transcript, for Syrsham. Slapton was near to Syresham, and could not possibly have been intended as one of those three toll stations.

County of Northampton Doe hereby lett and sett unto John Knott of Northampton aforesaid Innholder the Toll arising by Waggons Wains Carts and Parkhorses passing and repassing to and from the said Town of Northampton (that is to say) for every Waggon Wain or Cart that hath a Weight upon them of above *Two Hundred Weight* or upwards Every such Waggon Wain or Cart to pay unto the said John Knott or his Order the Sum of Two Pence as a passing Toll, And for every Parkhorse or Mayor that hath a Packe or Fadge on his or her back that is wanted to the said Horse or Mare the Owner or Driver thereof to pay unto the said John Knott or his Order for every such Horse or Mare having on them such Packe or Fadge a passing Toll of Farthing for each Horse or Mare as aforesaid, And also all Waggons Wains or Carts bringing or carrying to and from the said Town any Hurdles Fleaks Faggots Timber or any other Sort of wrought Goods Each Waggon Wain or Cart to pay to the said John Knott or his Order in or out of the said Town a passing Toll of Twopence for every such Waggon Wain or Cart, And likewise all Manner of Grain bought in the Town or is carried out or through the said Town of Northampton or any Waggon Wain or Cart bringing any Charcoles or Cokes through the said Town Every such Waggon Wain or Cart to pay to the said John Knott or his order a passing Toll of Twopence And likewise all Pitt or Seacoles going through and from the said Town each Waggon Wain or Cart to pay the said Toll of Twopence And also all Waggons Wains or Carts loaden with Wool or other sort of Merchandize whatever brought to or traveling through the said Town to pay to the said John Knott or his order a passing Toll of Twopence for every such Waggon Wain or Cart as aforesaid And likewise all foreign Baxers that keep the common Markets and Fairs in the said Town of Northampton Every such Baker or his Servant to pay unto the said John Knott or his order for every Pair of Pannniers or having any Stall as a Shelter from the Weather as Stallage or standing Toll for every such Pannnier as aforesaid to pay Twopence, And likewise all Birch Brooms or Quicksets to pay after the accostomed Manner that has been formerly paid for Stallage, etc And for all Millstones to pay the usual and accostomed Rates, And for every Waggon Wain Cart or Coach covered for Every such Waggon Wain or Cart Coach to pay as aforesaid Twopence, And for Every new set of Wheels shod with Iron Twopence And every Pair of Wheels not shod with Iron to pay as a passing Toll One Penny, And we doe hereby impower the said John Knott to receive for the Tolls and every Patt thereof

Witness our Hands and Seals this Twentieth day of May Anno Dni 1715

Tho Baker
Nath Easton

There are two other paper copies of this lease both a good deal worn, which have the important variation of stating that the toll was to be taken upon every cart, etc., that had a weight of *five* hundred weight and upwards. As the original lease is not forthcoming, it is not possible to say which was correct It was, perhaps, on account of this strange variation, that none of the

copies were produced at the great law suits and that counsel was absolutely silent as to any lease older than 1765.

On December 10th, 1765, a lease was signed, by which the corporation assigned the whole of the Northampton great tolls to William Gibson. This grant recited that the traverse tolls for many years last past had been let to and collected by Elizabeth Knott, widow, "at the house called or known by the name or sign of the Magpye Situate in the South Quarter," as well as all the market tolls on cattle, and the tolls of pickage or stallage, and St. George's pence, which had of late years been let to or collected by William Aman. The whole of these tolls were then granted to the one lessee, William Gibson, for seven years, at a rental of £87.

In 1769 the last mentioned lease was called in and renewed to William Gibson, at a like rent, for a period of 14 years.

On May 3rd, 1782, an agreement was entered into by which William Gibson sub-let the market and fair tolls, the traverse tolls collected at the toll house known by the sign of the Magpye in the South Quarter," the pickage or stallage tolls, and St. George's pence, to William Tomkins and John Bliss for the sum of £87 for a single year. In 1783 Mr. Gibson sub-let the tolls to the same men for three years, at a yearly rental of £90.

In 1789 the town leased all the great tolls to William Tomkins for five years, at an annual rental of £88. At Michaelmas, 1790, the same tolls were leased to William Tomkins and Thomas Tomkins, at a rental of £88, for five years.

The great tolls were leased to Alderman William Gibson, at Michaelmas, 1798, "for certain valuable considerations." The committee for letting the tolls met at the guildhall on September 20th 1798 when the mayor, Mr. Justice Smith, Mr. Justice Gibson, and two others were present, when it was resolved to let the great and small tolls of the town to Mr. Alderman Gibson at a rental of £80 together with an allowance of £3 7s. to the mace-bearer, and £4 12s to the serjeants-at-mace.

This composition to the mace-bearer was in lieu of his market tolls on corn, fish, fruit, and eatables, which had for a considerable period been regarded as his perquisites The composition to the four serjeants represented the small wood tolls, which had recently been assigned to them. The tolls had been advertised to be let to the highest bidder, but as there was no bidding Alderman Gibson consented to account for their collection.

In the following year the town let the same tolls to Richard Coulson and William Allen for £76, together with £7 19s. to the mace-bearer and serjeants. Richard Coulson, in conjunction with Thomas Hands, obtained the tolls the following year at a still further reduction, viz., £63 and £7 19s. In 1801 Mr Coulson took the tolls for three years, at a rental of 70 guineas, exclusive of the £7 19s.

John Hutt was appointed receiver of the tolls by an agreement dated 31st December, 1810, but the rental is not stated. Appended to this agreement is a schedule containing a table of the tolls authorised to be demanded and taken of all persons not being free of the town of Northampton, issued under the common seal.

For every Waggon, Wain, or Cart travelling to, from, or through the said Town, and having thereon a Load of two hundred weight or upwards, a passing Toll of	2d
For every Pack Horse, Mare, Gelding, Mule, Ass, or other Beast having a Pack or Padge* (Wantyed) on his or her Back	1d
For every Waggon, Wain, or Cart, covered	2d
For every new set of Wheels shod with Iron	2d
For every new set of Wheels not shod with Iron	1d
If either Buyer or Seller be free then only half Toll is payable: For every Horse, Mare, or Gelding, bought, sold, or exchanged, in any Fair, Mart, or Market within the said Town	2d
For every Bull do	1d
For every other large Beast, do	1d
For every Ram, do	1d
For every Score of Sheep, do	8d
For every Boar, do	6d
For every Hog, do	1d
For every Stall or Standing which shall be set up by any Person (not being free) in any such Fair, Mart, or Market, in the Carriage way (except such Stalls or Standings as are or may be rented of the said Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses) a standing Toll of	3d
ST. GEORGE'S PENCE	
Every Person whatsoever residing within the Liberties of the said Town and using any Weights or Measures in his or her trade or dealings, to pay yearly at Feast of St George the Martyr	1d

It is mentioned in the details of the law suit that this schedule of tolls was painted on a board and fixed on the wall of William Allen's house, to whom the tolls were granted in 1811 for a term of three years. They were granted again to the same collector for a like term of years in 1814 and 1817.

* Padge, a Pannier, in contradistinction to a pack which was fitted to a pack-saddle. The pack was the leather strap or thong for securing the pack or padge.

With regard to the case of Robert Clarke, a common carrier from Leicester to London, who had several waggons on the road, the corporation of Northampton determined to take counsel's opinion. They drew up a case to be submitted to Mr. Perceval, their deputy recorder. In stating their case, they briefly recited the history and the condition of the great tolls, adding that certificates granted by the stewards of the duchy of Lancaster and by other places claiming exemption had considerably increased, and that Robert Clarke had paid the traverse tolls for several years until 1775, when he obtained a licence from the duchy. The question then arose whether there was power to grant licences to protect other men's goods from ancient traverse tolls, such goods being carried for hire. Unfortunately, though the draft of the case to be submitted to Mr. Perceval is extant, his reply is not given.

Through Seaton Lancum's action in trying to insist on the passage tolls from all who did not carry with them exemption certificates, considerable opposition was raised, and several who had previously paid now set the collector at defiance. At last the collector resolved to take action in a test case, and eventually selected one Arthur Lovell as defendant. The particulars of the demand show that action was taken for the recovery of 11d. due as toll upon oxen bought in the Northampton market in February and March, 1831, and for a further sum of 10d. due from certain laden waggons going out or passing into Northampton during March and April of the same year, thus raising the question both of the market and the traverse tolls. The case was tried at the Guildhall, London, before a special jury, in February, 1832. It was argued at great length, the transcript of the trial being a closely-printed volume of 450 pages. Although the pleadings, in the opinion of modern antiquaries and record agents, were most carelessly got up, the true meaning of the public records being quite misunderstood by the counsel for the corporation, and the best evidence from the local records being never brought forward, the case for the corporation was so strong on both counts that they won an easy victory.

An application, however, was made for a new trial, which was at last granted on purely technical grounds, but the death of the defendant caused the rule for a new trial to be discharged.

The orders of assembly give several interesting particulars with regard to this litigation that have not hitherto been published.

It was resolved in 1830 that Seaton Lancum, lessee of the town tolls, be defended at the expense of the corporation in the action brought against him by Mr. George Pell.

The tolls committee reported that they were advised that it was better for the lessee of the tolls to be plaintiff than defendant, and therefore they were striving to bring to an end the action which Pell had commenced against Lancum for trespass in seizing a halter as distress for non-payment of tolls; that a direct action had been begun against Pell for non-payment of toll, and also against five others on distinctive grounds; that these five had all given in and paid their tolls, but that now five other actions, as well as that against Pell, against five other defendants were pending, some of which would go to trial; that they had made very elaborate researches into ancient and authentic documents, and were confident that the corporation would be successful.

In April, 1832, it was reported to the assembly that the action for the great and small tolls, brought in the name of Seaton Lancum, their lessee, against Arthur Lovell for recovery of tolls on two laden waggons coming into the town, and for the toll on eight beasts bought by him in the market (thus embracing both the passage and market tolls), had been tried before the Lord Chief Justice at the Guildhall, London, on February 21st and 22nd, and that the jury, without hesitation, had returned a verdict for the plaintiff on both counts.

At the same assembly the mayor presented a declaration forwarded to him, and signed by 120 inhabitants of the town, regretting that so much unpleasant feeling had arisen between the agriculturists and the corporation on the toll cause, and urging apparently some compromise or withdrawal. He also had received a requisition signed by a few inhabitants begging them to give up the tolls, and demanding a public meeting on the subject. But the corporation tolls committee much deprecated any meeting at that juncture when further law proceedings were pending, but pledged themselves to subsequently inquire if any commutation, modification, or relinquishment were possible.

On the other hand, a declaration was at the same assembly presented to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, signed by 244 farmers and graziers of the neighbourhood, who had for many years attended the Northampton fairs, and who wished to express their earnest desire for the continuance of these fairs and their

determined intention to attend and support such fairs in the future. The thanks of the house were voted to all these gentlemen who had "so honorably and spontaneously come forward in support of the established and chartered rights of the corporation and publicly declaring by advertisement their determination to attend and support the fairs at Northampton at a moment when a party was raised for the purpose of removing such fairs and thereby to injure the Town and Trade of Northampton."

The committee for investigating the corporation accounts in 1833 found that the corporation had incurred a debt of £2,750 for their expenses in establishing the right of tolls.

In 1836 the reformed corporation decided to discontinue the town tolls as contrary to the spirit of the times and the freedom of trade, and thus ended a most interesting privilege, in defence of which the old corporation had recently expended, in one way or the other, at least £3,000.

Fee Farm.

The term fee-farm has already been used with some frequency in the preceding pages, in connection with the town of Northampton. As the expression is frequently misunderstood, and supposed to be connected with landed property, or the modern use of the word 'farm,' it will be as well to give a very brief explanation of its meaning. It signifies, in a legal sense, landed property held of another in fee, that is in perpetuity to the tenant and his heirs for so much yearly rent.

Northampton, with its adjacent liberties, was part of the ancient demesne of the crown. The various rights pertaining to the crown, as well as those contingent upon the king as lord of the manor, were conveyed to the commonalty of the town. Tenants in ancient or royal demesne according to the usual custom of England were quit of every kind of toll in every market, fair, town, or city throughout the kingdom. Every such tenant had the right to demand letters patent under the king's seal to all mayors, bailiffs, and like officers. This is the origin of the certificates granted to Duchy of Lancaster tenants quoted in our accounts of the traverse tolls of Northampton. The various charters given in the first volume definitely secured all these exemptions to the Northampton burgesses; but even without these charters they could have claimed all such toll quittance, provided it was one established they were tenants in ancient demesne.

In return for the various and valuable privileges that thus accrued to the inhabitants of Northampton, the crown naturally expected some pecuniary return. The fee-farm rent of the town of Northampton was originally fixed at £120, a very high figure when we consider the value of money in those early days. The sheriff of the county was responsible to the crown for a yearly return of this rent. The Pipe Rolls from Henry II.'s time give the details of this yearly account as quoted in the first volume. As a set off against this heavy annual payment, the town in times of good trade fully expected to realise at least an equivalent sum by its market and traverse tolls. Certain of its officials, for the most part the two bailiffs, were charged with the duty of being responsible for the fee-farm rent, and consequently the collection of the tolls was placed in their hands. Plenty of evidence of this kind of procedure for the payment of the crown rental can be obtained from the records of other old boroughs on ancient demesnes; but, strange to say, this side of the case was completely neglected in the great law suit respecting the Northampton tolls. It was not unusual for bailiffs to make themselves responsible, under a bond, for the payment of the crown rental, and then to make what profit they could out of the town tolls; and this course was certainly adopted at certain periods in the history of Northampton. At the beginning of Edward III.'s reign the fee-farm of Northampton was assigned by him to "Isabel, Queen of England, our most dear mother," to whom it was paid to the time of her death

The crown, as a rule, jealously adhered to its fee-farm rents, for they formed one of the most certain items of definite revenue. Up to the year 1352, the Northampton fee-farm rent was duly paid to the crown through the sheriffs. But in that year, Edward III., who two years previously had founded the royal collegiate church of St George's, Windsor, gave in perpetuity to the dean and canons of Windsor one hundred marks (£66 13s. 4d.) From that day onwards the town was obliged to pay this sum direct to the clergy of Windsor.

In 1462 Edward IV. remitted to the town of Northampton the annual sum of £20 from the fee-farm rent for the term of 20 years. In 1478 the same king remitted the sum of £20 for a further term of 12 years, to date from the expiration of the previous term. In 1484 Richard III., in consequence of the desolate state of the town, remitted the annual sum of £33 6s. 8d. from the town rental.

Henry VIII., by letters patent in 1514, remitted for ever the annual sum of £22 from the original fee-farm rent of £120, leaving a total of £98, at which it afterwards remained; this reduced the portion due to the crown to £31 6s. 8d.

This moiety of the Northampton fee-farm was subsequently granted by the crown to the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham. At the time of the great law suit with respect to the tolls, the town was paying £66 13s. 4d. to the Chapter of Windsor, and £31 6s. 8d. to Mr. Finch-Hatton, a relative of the late Lord Winchilsea.

About the centre of the big book in which are recorded the agreements with apprentices and covenant servants between 1681 and 1721, in the midst of the year 1689, occur the entries of the bailiffs' account of the fee-farm rent for the years 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, and 1586, and of the quittance or receipt for its being duly handed over to the Dean and Chapter of St. George's, Windsor. These entries are made in set court hand in abbreviated Latin, and each occupies a whole page. They seem to be transcripts from the Great Roll of the Exchequer. The fee-farm income thus transferred to the collegiate church of Windsor from Northampton was £121 9s. 7d. for the first of the five above-named years. In 1580 the sum amounted to £123 10s. 7½d., the income being increased by 38s from the rector of All Saints', £4 8s. from the master of St. John's Hospital, and 35s. for green wax. In 1581 the amount was £123 10s. 1½d., and in 1586 £126 2s. 5½d.

In the next century the sum paid to the collegiate church of Windsor reverted to the precise one hundred marks of Edward III.'s gift (£66 13s. 4d.), and thus remained. We are quite at a loss how to explain the increase and fluctuations of the payment in the Elizabethan days.

Town Tokens.

The town of Northampton possessed the right of coinage in Anglo-Norman days. It is not known when the mint of Northampton was first established, but it was in active operation during the reigns of Richard I., John, and Henry III. This royal mint, however, soon afterwards fell into abeyance, and for some four centuries there was no coinage at Northampton. The issue of copper tokens began in England in 1648, and only extended to 1679. The reason

of their issue was to supply an urgent public need, the want of small change being most seriously felt, and of considerable inconvenience to the smaller traders. It had been foolishly considered beneath the dignity of the crown to issue coins of any metal baser than silver. A national copper coinage was contemplated by the government of the Commonwealth, and patterns were even struck, but no authorised issue of them ever took place. When once the commercial mind of the country had grasped the fact that the private issue of copper coinage was no longer opposed but rather encouraged, there was no part of England, in comparison with its population, that more heartily availed itself of this privilege than the shire of Northampton. No fewer than 179 different tokens have been identified as issued in that "brief period of 30 years" throughout Northamptonshire. In Williamson's edition of Boyne's *Trade Tokens*, 23 varieties of Northampton tokens are enumerated.

In a few towns, the local government intervened to check private coinage, and issued tokens in the name of the town for the general convenience of trade and for its own profit.

Where this was done, there was considerable diversity of use as to the special officials in whose names they should be issued, or whose names they should bear, such as the mayor and aldermen, bailiff, chamberlain, churchwardens, overseers, constables, and even sword-bearer. There can, however, be no doubt that the chamberlain (who took his name, as we have pointed out, from the custody of the *camera* or town chest) was the correct official for this purpose.

At the assembly held in the guildhall on March 24th, 1652-3, it was determined that in consequence of the dispersion throughout the town of divers brass halfpence by divers persons, aiming only at their private advantage, that they should all be suppressed. The chamberlains were forthwith directed to disburse 40 shillings for farthing tokens, which were to be stamped with the town arms. The assembly further ordered that any profit that might be made by the town coinage was to be disbursed amongst the poor. The farthing token then issued by the town bore the town arms and the legend S R. IN NORTHATON. William Selby and Richard Rands were the chamberlains for that year, and the initial letters doubtless stand for their respective names.

In 1655 the assembly passed a bye-law interfering in a remarkable degree with the value of the coinage. "That all Farthins

belonginge to any shopkeeper or other Inhabitant within this Corporation shall forthwith be called in and be not more used in exchange, or suffered to be ymployed for commerce as formerly they have been, And it is further ordered that from henceforth the Farthings stamped and marked with the Armes of this towne of Northampton shall freely pass and go current, and bee esteemed and taken for halfepence a piece untill it be otherwise ordred by the Asemblies."

Mr. John Stevens, one of the chamberlains, was ordered in 1657 to provide a new stamp for brass halfpence for use within the town.

There are no less than four variants of John Spicer's token. One of them bears on the obverse I. S. IN NORTHAMPTON; and a castle, with two lions passant gardant, on the reverse. The other varieties bear the same initials, but have different kinds of castles or gateways, and different ways of spelling the town name.

There was a new issue of the town copper coinage at the Restoration, which was stamped on the obverse with I. T. IN NORTHAMPTON, with a castle; and on the reverse CHAMBERLAINE, 1660, and two lions passant gardant. John Twigden, who was mayor in 1666, was the acting chamberlain in 1660.

In May, 1662, the chamberlains were instructed to melt down the brass halfpence that had been called in during the previous year, and to place a new stamp upon them which can be distinguished from the old stamp. Those who had brought in the old halfpence were to have a like value in the new coinage.

A royal proclamation was issued in 1672, making current a national coinage of pence, halfpence, and farthings, and forbidding all others to be used.

SECTION FIVE.

Commons and Cattle.

The town commonalty once a village community—Pinder, hogherd, and herdsman—Pasture times on the commons—Number of cows and horses permitted to graze—Taintors on the commons—The inclosure of Northampton field—Willows on the commons—The town bull—A herdswoman—Branding day and branding dinners—Hogs and the hogherd—Pinfolds—Vermin—Duston lordship or abbot's meadow.

THE COMMONS AND CATTLE.

IN this section we deal with far the oldest and earliest form of property that the commonalty possessed. The possession of lands, and of certain proprietary rights over lands surrounding the boundaries of the town, lead us into a far earlier phase of history than anything that rests upon royal charters or acts of parliament. It is not a little remarkable to note, that, in any study of municipal life or offices, the student is almost invariably brought back to the fact that the town commonalty was originally a village community, and that the very nature of some of the oldest offices points to an agricultural rather than a commercial life.

Northampton is no exception to this rule; in fact, its records remarkably verify it, whether we have regard to pinders, hogherds, and herdsmen, or to the abundant evidence as to the common rights of the burgesses in the open fields on all sides of the town.

Early in the morning the freeman of Northampton opened the door of his yard, when the hogherd went round the streets with winding horn to collect the swine and drive them out for pasturage till the evening; at the fit seasons of the year he sent his cows and horse to graze upon the common fields, paying his quota to the common herdsman and the pinder; and when duly summoned took his share (or, in later times, paid a substitute) of the common labour outside the ramparts of the town.

Some of the very earliest entries in the first order book of the assembly relate to pasture rights on the commons. The following are two of the orders or bye-laws of 1553:—

Item that no man shall kepe moor for his franchis than iij bestes upon the commons in alle and that they be his owne or that they be hyred for mony without any craft or colusion upon payne of x^{d} for every tyme to the use of the chamber and that any partie suspecte in this behalff shalbe sworne before the maior for the peoofe of suche beaste or beastes and that the chamberlaynes may bind every mans rother beast butt no horses nor geldings

Item that the Cowe medowe the horse medowe next ytt and Rawlines holme shalbe kept severall from the purificacion of Savnt Mary the Virgin untyll the invencion of the holy crosse in may and likewise from the assumption of our lady unto savnt luke day the evangeliste upon payne of x^{d} every beast found putt in at every tyme to the use of the chambyr.

It was agreed, in the following year, that no franchised man should put into the Cow Meadow at St. Luke's day more than one cow or one horse, the same to be marked by the chamberlains with the town mark. The payment was a penny apiece, but any one putting in more than his due number was to be fined a shilling. At the same time, it was ordered that if any sheep were taken pasturing or feeding within the town walls, or on the commons, a fine of 20d. was to be levied for each sheep.

At an assembly held in 1555, Mr. John Mole, Mr. Henry Clark, John Harpole (tanner), William Bugby (tanner), Robert Bradwell (tanner), John Gratwood (innholder), Thomas Farebrother (tanner) men of sixty years of age, gave evidence touching the piece of ground without the south gate, behind the mansion place of Mr. Cryspe, towards Marvell mills. They stated, on oath, that the said piece of ground had been common for thirty or forty years past, and that the whole herd of beasts, as well as horses, were wont to go there after the first crop was gone. Thereupon Mr. Neale, "somewhat ageynst his will," and Mr. Cryspe, his tenant, did agree and allow the same as common after the first crop was taken, "*nolens volens.*"

In 1556 it was determined that no franchised man of Cotton and St. James' End, or elsewhere without the liberties of the town, shall have any commons appertaining to the liberties, unless he be down-lying and up-rising and dwelling within the liberties, upon pain of 40s. Cotton and St. James' End were not included in the borough until the charter of 1618.

An order made in 1565 provided that if any freeman took up, or caused to be taken up, any cattle as strays, and did not presently give information to the bailiffs, that he should be subject to a fine of 3s. 4d.

At the September assembly, 1582, it was ordered that the Cow Meadow, St. George's Leys, Balmes Holme, and the Foot Meadows should be severally opened from September 8th until St. Luke's Day.

In 1585 it was ordered that no freeman should put any mare, horse, or gelding into the Cow Meadow, until fourteen days after the feast of St. John Baptist, under a pain of 3s. 4d. But it should be lawful for any freeman to put his mare, horse, or gelding into Bawkinsholme *(sic)* Meadow and the Foot Meadow at St. Thomas's Day next after Midsummer, according to the old order.

An assembly held in April, 1588, provided that anyone leaving planks or timber over the ditches into the Cow Meadow should be fined 6s. 8d., and that henceforth no one should be allowed to lay planks across the ditches or anywhere in the Cow Meadow, between February 2nd and August 1st.

In 1599 the assembly passed an elaborate order to check the use of the commons by the unenfranchised, and to restrain other irregularities. It was provided that anyone, not being a freeman, or not dwelling within the liberties of the town, who should place upon the commons any horse, gelding, mare, colt, bull, cow, ox, bullock, steer, runt, or weaned calf, should be subject to a penalty of 6s. 8d. A like order was made with respect to the pasture or meadow grounds of the manor of Duston, known as the Abbott's Meadow, Ox Close, and West Holmes. Any freeman putting in the commons any cattle or beasts, not being his own bona fide, or fined for six months, was to be subject to a like penalty. No freeman was to put in more than two kine or cows into the Cow Meadow, St. George's Leys, or Calves Holme. Former orders were recited and it was further enacted that any freeman turning out on the commons any horse "infected with the mange, or mourning of the chint*, or having the disease called the fassions†," should be fined 6s. 8d., and that any chamberlain neglecting to turn off any horse thus diseased, should be subject to a like penalty. "Provided allwayes that Mr. Robert Catlin, now minister of All Saincte shall have commons and depasturing of and for one cowe, and one nagge, gelding, or mare; and Simon Wastell, scholemaster, of and for one cowe, as other freemen."

Complaint was made to the assembly in 1619 that many highways were being made in and through the Cow Meadow, by reason of the tanners, glovers, whittawers, parchment makers and others washing their pelts, hides, skins, and other stuff. The assembly thereupon imposed a fine of 6s. 8d. on anyone making any way or passage into or through the said meadow, or washing any manner of skins or wools in the high river, or in any brooks about the meadow.

It was reported to the assembly in February, 1608-9, "that there are diverse Taintors in the Cow Meadow, by reason whereof great annoyance and hurt hath ensued and will ensue if redresse be not made." Whereupon the assembly ordered that anyone having

*Chint, the back. †Fassions, the farcy

taintors set up in the meadow, should within forty days pluck them up and carry them away. The chamberlains were to see that no taintors were henceforth erected, and if any transgressed, they were empowered at once to remove them. Taintors or tayntors were fixed stretchers of wood for the stretching and bleaching of cloth, and were not infrequently the subject of legislation because of their excessive use in lengthening the cloth at the expense of the material. As they occupied much ground, they were not allowed on the commons save at a fixed rental.

In 1554 John Sutton, fuller, secured from the corporation a lease for "ij tayntor groundes the one in Cowe Medow conteyning xlij yardes in lengthe and a other in saynt Georges lees in lengthe xxxi yardes." For this lease he paid a fine of 3s. 4d., and a yearly rental of the same amount. In 1621 it was agreed that John Robinson, fuller, have free liberty to set up a pair of taintors in the Cow Meadow, in the same place where heretofore he and John Fox, his predecessor, used to have taintors. Permission was given to him to use these taintors at all times of the year, without any denial or interruption from the corporation, provided that he paid a yearly rent to the chamberlains of 20s. In 1630 the assembly voted £10 to Mr. Danby towards defraying the charge of setting up "Taintors," to be employed in his trade as clothier; Mr. Danby to pay a yearly rent for them of 20s.; if £10 would not cover the expense the remainder to be found at the chamber charge, and 10s. to be abated yearly out of the rent until it be repaid.

Complaint was made in 1617 that much hurt and damage were daily done to the Cow Meadow, and to the willows growing therein, by whittawers laying their horse hides and other skins upon the willows, and the parchment makers and glue makers continually setting their harrows and laying their glue in the same meadow. The assembly ordered the restraint of all these acts under a penalty of 6s. 8d.

In 1630 it was ordered that the rate for freemen turning out their horses and beasts on the commons should be 3s. 1d. for each horse or gelding, and 2s. 7d. for each cow; and that any freeman could turn out two cows and no gelding or mare, or one gelding or mare and one cow, or two geldings or mares and no cows, at the above rates.

At a later assembly in the same year it was ordered that

freemen might put their geldings or mares into Balmes Holme at 3s. 1d. and beasts at 15d. each.

In 1632 the commons rates were again altered. It was provided that freemen may put to grass in the Cow Meadow, the town part of Balmes Holme, Mr. Tate's part of Gobion's Holme, and Nunnall Holme, geldings or mares at 5s. 5d., and cows at 4s. 1d. In 1632 the charge was reduced to 4s. 5d. a horse, and 3s. 5d. a cow.

At the assembly held on July 10th, 1650, it was ordered "that the grounds on the back sides of the Cow Meadowe which were severed from the meadowe in the tyme this towne was a garison shalbe fourthwith reduced againe as it was before for the publiche common at the chamber charge."

In 1656 the penalty imposed on any freeman putting any foreigner's or other man's cattle on to the commons was increased from 6s. 8d. to 20s. The rate at this time was 4s. 4d. a horse, and 3s. 4d. a cow.

The rates were materially raised in the spring of 1658, when it was ordered that the commons belonging to the town, together with the Castle Hills, Foot Meadow, and Balmes Holme, be open at the rate of 6s. 1d. for a horse, and 5s. 1d. for a cow; that the cows were for this year to be depastured in the Cow Meadow, and the horses in all the other places, that it shall be lawful after midsummer for the chamberlains at their discretion, within one day after announcement by the crier, to drive away all the horses and cows off the commons for so long a time as they shall think fit for the bettering of the commons, and that anyone depasturing any cattle until the chamberlains shall give public notice shall forfeit for every head of cattle 6s. 8d.

In 1663 the commons were opened much later than usual, the season being very wet.

The rate in 1667 was 6s. for a horse and 5s. for a cow. The chamberlains were this year authorised to refuse to receive and to turn out any beast that is infectious or thought not fit to be received.

In March, 1669, the assembly saw occasion to make a new commons bye-law—that every person offering to put a horse amongst the cows, or a cow amongst the horses shall forfeit 6s. 8d.

In May, 1674, it was ordered that all back doors opening on to the commons be walled up, and all planks and bridges removed. The rates that year were 6s. 1d. for a horse, and 5s. 1d. a cow.

At an assembly held on May 12th, 1682, it was ordered "that the Towne Commons be mowed or cutt this present yeare in reason of the wettness of the season, and that this yeare's mowing be no president for the tyme to come."

In 1702 there was no small stir in Northampton about cutting the grass of the commons. On March 31st the assembly ordered that the commonable meadows be mown that year, and that all persons putting their cattle into "the latter meath" (aftermath) be stinted to two heads of cattle and pay 2d. a piece for branding; that £100 raised by the sale of the grass be paid to the poor of the hospital, and other poor paid by the chamberlaine, and for other necessary payments and charges of the chamberlaine; and that the residue of the money be used for setting out poor children as apprentices.

The following brief orders passed at the next assembly, held on May 11th, speak for themselves:—

"That the Order of the last Assembly concerning the mowing of the Commons this yeare be revoaked and made voyd."

"That the Paper brought in by the Chamberlaine signed (name erased) for the Crying of the Commons att his owne tyme is illegall, and an affront to the Maior and this house, it being against the Order of the last Assembly and without their consent."

"That it is the opinion of this house that Mr Maior in purposing to mow the Commons did intend the good and welfare of the towne."

"That in consideration of procuring the universall peace of this Corporation this house are content to Repeale the Act of the Assembly for Mowing of the Commons."

With regard to the number of cattle and horses depastured by the freemen on the town commons, the chamberlain's accounts for 1692 mention 280 horses and 103 cows; in 1698, the numbers were 233 horses and 221 cows.

The following order was made by the assembly on March 31st 1715.—

"That the chamberlaine observe these orders at his branding Cattell into the Commons, viz.—That every horse shall pay the first weeke Six shillings and Four shillings shall be payd for a colt.

And the first weeke for every Cow shall be payd Five shilling and for a Heifer Four shilling, and for a Calle two shillings sixpence. In the second weeke to stand two shillings for horse or cow. At the second branding two shillings for horse or cow to be payd. And to sett down the owners' names of every horse and cow and the day of the month when putt in and entered in a book made to that purpose."

levied upon the chamberlain's goods if the order was neglected. Special regulations were made, as we have seen, in 1619, to preserve the willows from damage. A lease was granted in 1669 to Valentine Chadwick, of a close near the West Bridge, conditional upon his maintaining a competent number of willows therein; he was also to give liberty to the chamberlain, or to the warden of St. Thomas, to cut and top the willows for the use of the poor of St Thomas' House. In 1691, on the proposal of Mr. Duckett there was a considerable planting of willows in the town meadows. The cutting, topping, and stacking of these willows was the cause of various disputes between the corporation and their tenants. There was a lawsuit on the subject in 1720, in which the town won.

The chamberlain's accounts show that a bull was bought yearly by the town, and sometimes two, to serve in the Cow Meadow. The bull was afterwards sold, usually at a loss. In 1675, Dunkley, the butcher, was paid £2 2s. 6d. for a bull; the price rose to £2 14s. in 1696. Sometimes, however, the bull was kept on for another year, when the herdsman was made responsible for its keep and maintenance. In the 1680 accounts a payment was made of £1 6s 8d to "the heard wintring the Bull." There is a payment in 1692 of 7d "for ropes to stake ye Bull." In 1698 the corporation sold two bulls, one for £2 6s., the other for £2 2s. 6d. In 1703 there is an entry "pd for staking the bull, 2s. 6d.," and in 1704 one man is paid 2s. 6d. "for dressing the Bull," and another man 3s "to hold him when he was drest." It has been suggested that these entries refer to the cruel but common practise of bull-baiting. It is possible, however, that they may have a more innocent explanation, namely, some medical treatment of the animal. This is certainly the case in 1707, when Dr. Hocknell was paid 2s. 6d. "for bleeding ye bull and a drench." There are several similar entries to this, and in 1709 Hocknell was paid a bill of £1 0s. 6d. "for curing the blow on the Bulls foote and helpe."

In 1722 the bull gave a good deal of trouble:—

	s.
P^d John Luddington for endeavouring to cure the Bull .	14
For other help	3
P^d for gelding the Bull and help	[illegible]
P^d for the Bull being pounded several times	[illegible]
P^d for the hire of a Bul.	[illegible]
P^d Muns for the Bull at 2 several times	[illegible]

be invited who were immediately concerned in the business of the day, and that a sum not exceeding £5 be allowed for the expenses incurred on that day, exclusive of the payment of those actually employed.

HOGS AND THE HOGHERD.

It will be recollected that there are several early regulations restraining the undue keeping of swine in the *Liber Custumarum*.

The following order with regard to hogs or swine was made in 1553:—

Item that whosoever from henceforth shall have any hoge or hogges greater large in any parte of the towne or liberties an houre or more before the hogherd goeth forthe or comythe home, shall pay for every hogge iiij[d] wherete iij[d] to the chamleyn and i[d] to the pinner as often as they offend.

In 1556 it was ordered that "no man resyst the offiycer called the pynner off the hoges in hyghe strets upon payment of iij[d]." It was agreed in 1594 that no person whatsoever who was not a freeman save the farmers, should "putt forthe or keepe any hoggs before the towne hogghearde," upon pain of 12[d] for every hog to be levied by way of distress.

During the time of the plague in 1603, the order of 1594 was re-enacted and amplified, doubtless in the main for sanitary reasons. It was then ordered that no person (save the farmers) not being free of the town should put forth or keep any "bore, hog, sow, porket, or wayned pig before the towne hogheard, or have anie bore, etc., goeing in anie streate or lane or upon any of the town commons," under a penalty of 12[d]. No freeman being an innholder or great brewer was to keep above six pigs, and no other freeman more than four. No one was to suffer any pig to wander in the streets, lanes, or commons, save before the hogherds, to wit, the town hogherd for the freemen, and the farmers' hogherd for the farmers. No inhabitant was to keep any pig within the Chequer Ward unless the mayor certified that they had proper accommodation, under a pain of 6s. 8d.

Complaint being made to the corporation in 1616 of the great damage done to the town meadow by the number of swine, the assembly resolved on December 5th, that the owner of any pig found abroad not ringed in the nose after January 6th, should pay 12[d]; and that if any pig, by casualty or otherwise, should become unringed, that it be new ringed within three days by the owner

under a like penalty. A fine of 6s. 8d. was also ordered to be levied on any freeman exceeding the number of pigs allowed him by the order of 1603.

In the following year, Edward Downes and his wife, who had had charge of the House of Correction, being "very aged and decayed in their estates," applied to the corporation for a pension. A sum of £4 per annum was voted them provided they "shalbe vigiant and carefull in pynning of hogges and swine, which doe continually runne abroade to the annoyance of this corporation and great hurte of the meadowe groundes."

The assembly of January, 1635-6, ordered that there should be a

Hogheard provided for the keeping and looking to of the hoggs in this towne, and that the hogheard for his paynes shall have allowed him for every hogg he keepeth twopence a quarter and one pennie a hogg for wonting and shall have for every hogg or sowe killed in the owners house the Rump of the hogg or els foure pence in lieu thereof and if any sell either hogg or sowe, then he alsoe to have threepence

The assembly in 1594 agreed "that there shalbe a pynfolde made for the towne in the corner at the west gate, at the charges of the towne in all thinges." This would serve for straying hogs, etc. at this end of the town, and for cattle, etc., illegally turned out on the Abbot's Meadow and other common land by the west gate.

In 1627 the pinfold, outside the east gate, belonging to Gobion's Manor, was paved at the charge of the corporation, and an order made that all farmers' cattle trespassing on any common belonging to the corporation, were to be there impounded. Gobion's manor, it will be remembered, had been purchased by the town in 1622, whereby their common rights on the east of Northampton were considerably extended.

A few of the payments, which are so common in old parish books for the destruction of vermin, are met with in the chamberlains accounts. We need not of course imagine that the vermin were killed within the walls (though there were several fields inside the walls in the seventeenth century), but on the commons or farms that formed parts of the liberties. In 1675, one Corby, was paid 3d. "for catching a hedghogg." In the same year the "Mud catcher's wages were 10s." The mole catcher received a like wage for several years, but at other times he was obviously paid by results; in 1707 he received an annual wage of only 5s.

The Lordship of Duston.

After the dissolution of the monasteries, common right on certain lands beyond the west bridge, and on the east side of the road, which had pertained to the Abbey of St. James, were acquired by the town on a long lease. These lands are sometimes spoken of as Duston lordship, and sometimes as Abbot's Meadow and West Holmes. The assembly administered them on lines quite independent of those that regulated the ancient commons or fields of Northampton, Duston not being ancient demesne, or within the bounds of the town. Duston was an independent manor, and had its own court-leet days, when the town did service to the steward of Duston manor.

The following orders with regard to the lordship of Duston were drawn up at an assembly held May 16th, 1560:—

(1) Imprimis it is Condicended and agreede that Mr John Balgey shall be treasurer off the Revenues and profittes belonging to the saide lordshipe off Duston and shalbe accomptant to the inhabitaunts off the towne For the yere followinge.

(2) Item the same assemblie were chozen Apointers and Kepers off the saide lordshipe, John Brightman and William Yomans for the yere followinge.

(3) Item it is Condicended and agreed that the treasurer nor the apointers elected For the yere shall not let nor set no parcell off the saide lordshipe by lease for terme of yeres without the Consent off the maiors for the time beinge and aldermen of the chamber and his cobrethern.

(4) Item the saide apointers shall have off any leasor vj^s viij^d over and besides ther fine to the use of the Chamber in Recompence of ther travaile at ther sealing of any such lease so letten, And more For ther travaile they shall have for the measuringe and layinge forthe of any Acre off grasse iiij^d and for the half Acre ij^d And for the Roode a penny.

(5) Item it is agreede that everie inhabitante of the towne shall pay for the First Croppe off everie Acre off medow vj^s over and besides the apointers duties.

(6) Item it is agreed that no inhabitaunt of this towne makes provision of grasse to that ende to sell it ageyn unto any man above the price before limited or ells to make the sayde grass in hey and to sell the same by grasse in the latter end of the yere at a hyer price uppon payne of the first default x^s to be levyed of ther goodes and cattels to the use of the Chamber, and For the second offence then to lose the benefit off ther portion that he and she wer accustomed to have for ever, provided yf the parties that shall so offend be not of habilitie to pay x^s for the breche of this order, they to be imprisoned at the will and pleasure of Mr Mayor.

(7) Item it is agreede that no inhabitauntes of this towne put no kyne of cattell into any groundes or groundes belongingе unto the saide lordshipe without the Consent of the Apointers or Kepers uppon lyke paynes before expressed that

to say For the first offence x[s] and the second to lose the benefit of ther portion for ever.

(8) Item that no Inhabitant off this towne mysuse himselff towardes the treasurer or apointers or Kepers by no contentious wordes or other wayes for ther proceedinges upon payn of the first default iiij[s] iiij[d] . . . to be levyed presentlye upon dee profie made upon his goodes and Cattells to the use off the Chamber provydd if the parte so offendinge be not of habilite to pay the same above ar[redacted] then to be punished by the discrection of the maiour for the time beinge and for the second offence to lose the benefitt of ther portion whiche they were accustomed to have.

(9) Item the treasurer apointers shall give upe ther acomptes of all and singler ther Receptes growinge of the said lordshipe for ther yere at the Feast of Saynt Leonard yf it fall not on the sonday or the satterday provydd yf it so happen then they to knowe Mr Maiores pleasure for the makinge of ther accompte.

(10) Item that no inhabitaunt of this towne that shall giest any Cattell into any growude or groundes belonginge unto the lordshipe shall pay for any geldinge or mare iiij[d] by the weke and for every Cowe iij[d] for the First Croppe, And for the latter Croppe ij[d] the gelding or mare and j[d] of every Cowe, provydd that no man shall put in no stoned horsys, nor mangye horse nor mare upon payne of iij[s] iiij[d] to the use of the Chamber.

It is found from subsequent minutes of the assembly, that it was the custom to elect in the spring, a treasurer for the lordship of Duston for the coming year, and one of the two appointers for a period of two years, the junior appointer of one year becoming the senior appointer in the next. Each appointer, on his nomination, had to give sufficient security for the making of a true account and payment of all the rents, revenues, and receipts that he shall collect and gather. Forty shillings was allowed to the appointers for paying the expenses of the dinner given by the steward of Duston each court day, in addition to the steward's fee of six and eightpence. On two or three occasions in Elizabeth's reign, the appointers were warned that any excess of the forty shillings for the court dinners would be disallowed if it appeared in their accounts.

In 1606 the assembly ordered

That Mr George Coldwell Mr George Raynesford Mr. Edward Henseman and Mr. Thomas Jockins or anie twoe of them shal, forthwith take their journey to the Right Honourable Ladie late Ladie Hatton nowe Ladie Cooke and consort and conclude with her about the enlarging of our term in the Lordship of Duston she being determyned to conveye her estate awaye after thexpiration of our lease in hye and that the saide two persons taking their journey in this behalfe shall have their charges defrayed by the towne chamber.

In 1560 "orders were newly devised and augmented for the better

governement of the lordship off Duston," of which the following is an abstract:—The officers to be elected by the whole assembly on Thursday in Easter week, one to serve for two years. Any inhabitant refusing on election to serve, to be fined 20s. The owners and appointers each to have, over and above their portion as freemen, an acre of grass, and the grazing for a gelding or mare and a cow within the pastures without any charge, and this in addition to 6s. 8d. in money. No inhabitant, save the aldermen, to have more than half an acre of grass as their portion, unless it can be conveniently spared by the appointers. Inhabitants or their servants are not to cut down or break hedges, gates, rails, styles, locks, hooks, hinges, staples, or hasps, under a pain of 6s. 8d. for every offence. Every inhabitant putting cattle into any ground of the lordship shall go to to the appointers and pay for the said cattle for one whole month on terms to be agreed upon; and that at the end of the month, if desirous of continuing, he is to visit the officer or officers at his or their house or houses, and to make fresh terms for the next month, and so forth. Any one turning out cattle contrary to this order to have his cattle impounded by the keeper, and to pay 4d. a head in addition to the poundage fee Any inhabitant turning out stoned horses, mangy cattle, or cattle that "morne of the Chyne," to be fined 4d for each beast. All cattle placed in this lordship to be marked with a mark to be fixed by the appointer. Unmarked cattle to be impounded by the keeper, and a fine of 4d. per head imposed. Every one to pay a penny for the marking of each beast. The treasurer of the revenue may at all times call before him the appointers, and examine their books and proceeding The appointers to do no repairs without the approval of the treasurer, and to make monthly accounts and payments to the treasurer under pain of 3s. 4d. for every day in arrear.

In the summer of 1613 so much damage was done to the Duston meadow grounds by floods, which ruined the hay crop, that the corporation, fearing they would not be able to pay the rent to Lord Cooke, decided on July 22nd to set out the West Holmes and Abbot's Meadow amongst their members An acre was assigned to each alderman, an acre to every two bailiffs, and an acre to every two of the forty-eight. In case of the refusal of any of them to accept their portion, the aldermen refusing were to pay each ten shillings towards the making up of the rent, and bailiffs or burgesses five shillings.

It was provided in 1602 that the appointer of the lordship of Duston should not fell or cut down any wood or willows or thorns or tops of the trees without consent of the mayor or the treasurer of Duston for the time being.

During the commonwealth, the town endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain through purchase, the lands of the Duston lordship which they had previously had on lease.

The assembly of September 16th, 1652, voted £5 each to Mr. Twigden and Mr. Collins to enable them to repair to London with letters to Mr. Gifford, and to join with him in soliciting the trustees of Parliament for the sale of delinquents' estates, to obtain a purchase of the meadows and mills belonging to the lordship of Duston on behalf of the corporation.

SECTION SIX.

Public Health.

The plague of 1578—The attacks of 1603-5—The college used as a plague house—Terrible attack in 1638—Parochial returns of the deaths from plague—Letter from Dr. Clarke to Sir John Lambe—Shorter attack of 1638—Outbreak of 1648—Choice of the tower house as an infectious hospital—Account of the tower house—Watch and ward during London plague of 1666—Fire at Cotton end, 1561—Precautionary Elizabethan orders against fire—Town fire buckets kept in the churches—Precautions of 1643—The great fire of 1675—Resolutions of the assembly—Relief of the distressed—Ninety-nine years' leases on condition of rebuilding—The rebuilding act of parliament and its working—Benefactors' board, All Saints—Later fires—The great and little conduits—Drought of 1608, and restrictions on hours of water supply—Use of conduits forbidden to brewers and innkeepers—Shops and bridewell under conduit hall—Houses built at the conduit, 1685-6—Scarlet well waterworks—The waterworks of William Wykes—Tank at wood hill—Little conduit removed in 1831—Water carts—Public pumps and wells—St. Thomas' well—The chalybeate spring of Vigo and the new walk—Sanitary condition of the streets and houses—Town muck heaps—Sanitary overseers—Overcrowding—Paving of the highways—Appointment of scavenger—Lighting of the streets—Skavage due—Incroachments—Scavengers appointed by statute.

THE PLAGUE.

IN sixty years, namely, between 1578 and 1638, Northampton had no less than four visitations of the terrible plague, namely, in 1578, 1603, 1605, and 1638. Considering the times, the town's sanitary precautions and methods of isolation were most praiseworthy and distinctly in advance of those adopted in some other parts of the country.

At an assembly held at the guildhall, on October 13th, 1578, it was resolved that all the houses that were visited in Kingeswell Lane were to be shut up, and "Lord have mercye uppon us" set upon the doors: that those who were able to live at their own charges were to do so, and the rest to be provided for by the town; that houses elsewhere that might be visited were to be treated in like manner; and that the writing was to be continued on the doors for twenty days after any died. Three men were chosen as purveyors to buy victuals for the visited houses, to continue in office until November 24th. At the same time an assessment was ordered to be made and levied "for such as are visited to continewe for a monthe, to begyne the second day of November next comeinge and so monethelie untyll yt please God that the Towne be cleane of the Sickenes." The names of the assessors and collectors are given for the chequer ward, and for the west, south, and north quarters, from which it would appear that the east quarter was clean.

The plague had by no means decreased as the winter progressed, for it was ordered on December 4th that the purveyors shall weekly buy victuals for the visited houses until the town be clean, and that the collectors of the cess for this purpose gather their moneys fortnightly instead of monthly.

Another assembly was held on December 20th, when a variety of orders relative to the plague were passed. Two burgessess were appointed, at a salary of 20d. a week each, to "serve all such persons as shall happen to dye," and to certify to the parish minister the cause of death "as nere as they can." Four [illegible]hmen were appointed in each of the five wards (the sickness

had spread to the east), whose duty it was to see that visited people remained in their houses, and that "Lorde have mercy uppon us" was not pulled off the doors in the night time. The hours for these special watchmen (the constables being responsible during the daytime) were from 8 o'clock in the evening until 4 o'clock in the morning.

With the new year the severity of the sickness began to abate, though not subdued. On January 29th, 1578-9, it was agreed that it was necessary to continue the cess for the relief of the visited until further order be taken by the mayor and justices.

Two months later it was still lingering, for on March 24th, 1578-9, a small cess had still to be collected for the visited people "according to the number of them," and three purveyors for the purchase of victuals were again appointed.

The terrible plague of 1603-4, which broke out on the accession of James I., and of which no less than 30,578 persons died in London only, visited Northampton. Precautionary measures were taken by the assembly at the meeting on September 1st, 1603. The following order was then passed :—

Whereas the Citie of London ys visited with a grievous and contagious disease, and by reason of resort and travelling to the saide citie to and fro the infection ys spread into diverse places of his ma^ty^ realme of England, for the better preservation of this his ma^ty^ boroughe and subjects there from the saide Contagion (If yt soe please the Almightie, as of his onelie merit he hath hitherto preserved the same boroughe and inhabitants) It ys agreed and ordered that yf at anie tyme or tymes during the space of one whole monethe accompting twentie and eighte dayes to the moneth next ensueing John Sherwyn the carryer of this towne and Eagle the waggonman there or either of them or anie other inhabitant within this towne whatsoever shall travell or goe to London aforesaide without consent of the Mayor of the saide towne for the tyme being, That then yt shalbe lawfull for the Mayor to take suche order and course as shalbe thought fitt, and by such wayes and meanes as he shall think fitt at his discretion, to keep such person soe goeing and returned from coming into the saide towne, and also yf anie person or persons goeing up to London and returning shall without the consent of the Mayor goe into his or her dwelling howse, that yt shalbe lawfull for the Mayor to take such order and course as he shall thinke meet according to his good discretion as well for the punishment of all and everie suche person and persons as also for the inclosing and keeping up the saide person or persons within his her or their howse or howses for so long a tyme and in suche manner as the Mayor shall thinke fitt and convenient in his discretion.

Notwithstanding these precautions, by the end of the month the

plague was in Northampton, as is evidenced by the following order and preamble passed in assembly on September 26th :—

Whereas yt ys feared that diverse howses within this towne are infected with the plague, for the preventing of ane further infection within the saide towne than the saide howses (yf yt soe please God), It is ordered that all howses suspected to be infected shalbe shut up, and the persons therein kept in, and that there shalbe assessed ci tainhabitants of habilitie, for the keeping of suche as are not of abilitie to keep themselves and for the payeinge of watchmen vewers and making other necessarie provision in that behalfe the some of Twentie marks of good and lawfull money of England for one monethes provision to beginne and be accompted from the foure and twentieth daye of this instant moneth of September, and that these persons following or the more part of them shall assesse the inhabitants, etc.

Ten assessors were appointed, the cess to be collected by the ward constables. Two standing watchmen for the day were hired, whose duty it was to carry to the infected their provisions. The plague was then only in two of the five wards, namely, the south and the north (through which the great London road passed): two purveyors to purchase food and all things necessary for the infected, were appointed for each of these wards.

At the end of three weeks the plague spread so fast that it was found that the months' levy of twenty marks would in no way suffice, and therefore a new cess was voted by the assembly on October 14th, at the rate of £20 a month. It was also found necessary to appoint purveyors and overseers for each of the wards. To the overseers was assigned the duty, in their several wards, of reporting (for the space of a whole year) the advent of all new comers into the town. Their reports were to be made in writing to the mayor, and they were to meet together at least once a quarter for the purpose of drawing up a more general report. Any overseer neglecting his duty was to be fined 20s.

On November 7th it was agreed that, during the continuance of the plague, a watch should be set both by day and night in the west and north roads; the hours of the day watch to be from 6 o'clock in the morning to 6 in the evening, at which time the night watch was set; the six day watchmen for the day, and the like number for the night, were to be taken, two from the chequer ward, and one from each of the other wards; the watchmen to be warned by the several sergeants of the ward, and to be directed by the ward constable as to the place of their watch; each watchman to be sworn to the due and diligent observance of his office.

In the next few months the order for the £21 monthly cess to be levied was regularly repeated owing to the continuance of the visitation. The assembly also interested itself in practical sanitary matters, such as regulating the duties of the town scavenger, and providing against the excessive keeping of pigs within the town. An order was made on November 11th against any one keeping pigs save freemen; that no freeman, being an innholder or brewer, shall keep above six pigs; that no other freeman shall keep above four; and that no one keep a pig in the chequer ward, unless he has suitable convenience for the same allowed by the mayor. The plague still continued, though somewhat abated, in May, 1604, from the 18th of that month a cess of £12 was ordered to be levied for the relief of the visited houses.

In October, 1605, the dreaded sickness reappeared in Northampton; the assembly held on October 11th ordered that any one who shall "goe abroade or converse in companye" from an infected house, shall be "punished as a vagabond in all respects should or ought to be by the statute made in the xxxix^th^ yere of the Reigne of our late Soueraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth for the punishment of Roagues and vagabondes, and further to be bounde to his good behaviour for one whole year."

At the same time it was enacted "for the better watching and keeping in of all and everie person or persons infected or being or dwelling in any howse infected, and that the poorer sorte of people may not be oppressed by an unequall proportion in watching" that the duty of watching by night and day be discharged by men hired for the purpose by the mayor, and that they are to be paid by a cess levied on fifteen of the principal inhabitants occupying "howses of habitation."

It is somewhat remarkable, amid various sanitary precautions, to find that those who died of the plague were for the most part buried within the walls. The very year before the terrible outbreak, the assembly, on October 20th, 1602, when leasing the churchyard of the ruinous church of St. Katharine, stipulated that there should be "free libertie for the buiriall in the saide churche yarde of all such dead as y^t^ shall please God at anie tyme to visitt with the plague or anie other extraordinarie or infectious death, and free and quiet ingresse, egresse, and regresse for that purpose at all times."

From an entry made in the order book in 1607 it appears that Abraham Ventris, at the request of the mayor and aldermen, was content to give up his house called the college, at the time of the 1603-5 visitation, "to the intent thither and there to bring and place infected persons." The assembly voted him 40s. by way of compensation for the injury done to his house.

Much alarm was felt at Northampton in 1625 lest the plague, so prevalent then, should reach the town. It was ordered on September 19th that no inhabitant "shall at anie tyme hereafter during this tyme of infection buy, bargaine for, entertayne, or receive into this libertie any wares or marchandise whatsoever that shall come from the City of London or from anie other infected place in this kingdome, and also that noe carier in this libertie shall at anie tyme hereafter during the said infection fetch load or carie anie wares or marchandise from anie infected place upon payne of everie inhabitant and carier offending in the premisses that he shall have his howse shutt up with his familie for one moneth, and further punishment at Mr. Mayor's discretion for his contempt." It was further ordered that no innkeeper or victualler was to entertain or lodge anyone coming from London or any other infected place under a similar penalty. Stringent injunctions were also made with regard to keeping watch and ward night and day. These precautions seem to have been successful, for at this time Northampton escaped the terrible scourge.

The plague was very severe in the town in 1638. In St. Sepulchre's it seems to have begun about the end of March; for, under the heading of March 29, the following entry occurs in the register of burials:—"Att which time the sickness beegan." It would seem to have run its course by the end of the year, for on January 1 we read:—"At which time the Lord bee praised the sickness ceased."

In 1638 there were actually 114 deaths in the parish of St. Sepulchre, though the average number for five years was only eighteen.

The following table, compiled by Revd. R. M. Serjeantson from the register of the four parishes, shows the mortality during the visitations of 1578, 1603, 1605, and 1638, accompanied by the usual death average:—

	Deaths in 1593.	Average for 5 years.		Deaths in 1603.	1605.	Average for 5 years.		Deaths in 1638.	Average for 5 years.
All Saints' .	134	17	...	107	411	91	..	247	74
St. Giles' ...	21	10	...	20	123	22	..	185	21
St. Peter's ...	9	4	.	16	26	4	..	19	7
St. Sepulchre's	16	7	...	88	65	20	..	114	10
Total ...	160	48		231	625	139		665	112

In many cases *plague* is written before the entry; in others *p* or *pest*.

In 1638, the distress was so great that the county had to come to the rescue.

The Domestic State Papers contain an interesting letter from Dr Samuel Clarke, the rector of St. Peter's, to Sir John Lambe, diocesan chancellor, dated June 17th, 1638, of which the following is a summary:—The sickness is sore at Northampton. The deaths in the last three weeks have been—of the plague 26, 16, and 29. Before the last sessions Prince's attorney and myself made a tax for the 5-mile towns, and at the sessions I got an enlargement with much reluctance over the whole county. The first was £48 weekly, the second £100 more and the market is kept on Northampton Heath. In requital of my love and pains they do now what they list in the church service at All Saints Northampton. Some very lately cut the rail or cancel that was about the Lords board in pieces and brought doun the Lord's table into the middle of the chancel. I long since advised the Mayor and his bretheren that the Thursday lecture and sermons on Sundays in the afternone should be foreborne in these infectious times. They then raised a report of me that I was about to starve their souls. You may do well to acquaint his grace with so much of this as you please. The schismatical Puritans now bring their appeals from the audience, as, viz. the churchwardens of Towcester, for not presenting 80 or 100 of their parish who refused to receive the Blessed Sacrament at the cancel at Easter last, and one Mr. Clerke (my namesake) of

Eastcote in the parish of Pattishall, for calling the divine sermons porridge and the long puritan sermons roast meat.

The assembly petitioned parliament, in 1640, to interfere as to the disposal of the "mony in stocke in the Justices hands of the Countie gathered for reliefe of the Corporation in the late Visitation of the Plague to helpe as well divers Inhabitants decayed in the Corporation by reason thereof, as diverse workmen and labourers as yet unsatisfied."

Northampton again suffered heavily from the plague in 1647. At an assembly held on September 16th of that year a cess was voted of £100 "for relief and provision to be made for visited howses and persons infected with the plague" It was at the same time ordered that no inhabitant that had any manner of swine or dogs should suffer them to go abroad at any time under pain of 5s. for each offence. The last order of this assembly was as follows:—

Whereas it hath pleased God to send this heavie visitation of the plague in this Towne as aforesaide, severall more howses in the same being nowe infected, wherein there are severall families, and in that it is adjudged that the nowe setting up of a new pest howse in some place, Remote from the towne, in this libertie, to shedd sicke from the wholl in respecte of the approaching Winter, wilbe of a dangerous consequence, And it appearing to this Assemblie that there is a convenient howse out of the bert of the Towne neare the meadowes and fields, whiche wilbe usefull in this behalfe, called the Tower howse. It is agreed and ordered that the saide Tower howse shalbe forthwith taken and used in this behalfe, And that the present tenants there shalbe otherwise provided for.

The town register of the four parishes are either defective or missing for this period, so that we cannot judge of the comparative severity of the attack.

The Tower of Northampton, now put to such an excellent purpose, was a large building connected with a lofty square tower or keep at the west end It stood within the walls in the south-east quarter of the town, and had formed part of the system of fortification of the smaller Anglo-Norman town. Mention is made of it in a mandate to the sheriff *temp.* Henry II. In 1218, the Close Rolls record the appointment of a commission to see to the repair of the Tower. In the days of Henry IV. it was in the hands of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and was granted, under the name of Latimer's Tower, to John de Etton in the 11th year of that reign. In the time of Richard III. it was in the possession of John Chauncey, and continued in that family for a considerable

period. In the reign of Charles I. it was owned by, and was the residence of, Sir John Lambe, the active chancellor of the diocese of Peterborough. "In the barns belonging to this structure," according to the Hall MS., "during the rebellion were set large vats to receive the saltpetre which was dug out of the old cellars in the Tower, and prepared for a gunpowder mill, standing in the brook which runs from St. Thomas' Hospital on the north side of Cow Meadow." The Tower House disappeared in the fire of 1675, but the field where it stood was known for a long time as "the Tower Close."

The following incidental reference to the plague occurs amongst the orders made by the assembly on October 5th, 1666:—

"That Mr. Stamford and Mr Boddington ye present Bayliffs be considered and assisted by the Towne in payment of the Fee Farm charge If it shall please God to afflict this Towne with the Plague or any such Calamity whereby the Faires and marketts shalbe hindered or stopt."

A watch and ward was at this time strictly imposed on the town for the obvious purpose of restricting the danger of infection from London. The town at this time mercifully escaped, and for two and a half centuries this awful disease has never recurred.

FIRE.

The first entry in the orders of assembly relative to the common calamity of fire is the brief record, under date April 30th, 1561, that "Mr. Bot, Mr. Whit, Mr. Menard, and Mr Watts, Corviser (shoemaker) were apointed to viewe the howses that wer burnt in Coton Ende."

The assembly of June 16th, 1570, made the following elaborate order:—

Forasmoche as diverse and sundry times this boroughe of Northampton hathe hadde great losses by casualties of fyers and specially by negligence by taking hede in malte kylnes to the undoinge of many of the inhabitauntes of the boroughe And the same have stretched or gone the further for lacke of good provision maintained and kepte for the defence of the same Wherefore it is condisended and agreed at this present assembly that the Chamberlaines of Northampton before the feast of saint James thapostle next ensuinge at the costs and charges of the saide time to time shall provide and have redy xij good lethern buckets and foure long hookes of iron as fyt and stronge for the purpose aforesaide as may be devised and the same shalbe continuallie kept at the cost and charges of the same chamber

Item it is ordeynide and establisshed and agreede that the maior of Northton for the time beinge and every one that hathe bene maior and hereafter shalbe maior at

every of ther proper costes and charges shall have three good lethern buckets in ther severall howses redy at all time and times for the purpose afforesaide And every one that hathe bene bayly of the saide towne and shalbe bayly of the same at their proper costes and charges shall have too lethern buckets in their severall howses redy at all time and times for the purpose afforessaid and every one of the xliiij commoners and every other commoner beside dwellinge in the saide towne shall have one bucket redy as is offoresaide And that every person or persons charged with the havinge of buckets as is offoresaid shall deliver the same fourthe themselves or shall not denye the same to such person or persons as will require the same in time of nede upon paine for every person or persones not having buckets in manner and forme aforesaide or for not deliveringe the same or denieing the same in manner and forme afforesaide for every time xij' to the use of the towne chamber. And for the further better preservaunce of this saide boroughe from casualties of fyer and eschewinge the dangers thereof, It is ordayned established and agreed that no manner of person or persons at any time or times hereafter shall haylde edifye make or have any malte kylne or malte kilnes within the precincts or places of the saide towne hereafter passed and declared, That is to say the checker the draperie the bridge streete the southe quarter the golde streete the northe strete Abington strete and saint Giles streete or the backsydes of the same streetes or any of them or in any other place in the saide towne adjoininge or near unto any howse or howses, And that all and every person and persons now havinge any kilin or kylnes within the precincts or places aforesaide shall pull down the same and every of them before the feast of saint Michell thearcangell next ensuinge the date hereof or elles shall not in any wise occupie the same makinge of malte upon paine of every one makinge defaulte havinge to forfeite and lose to towne Chamber xli to be levied fourthwithe for every defaulte, The farmors kilns except, That is to say of saint Androos, Gobbions farme, knolle farme, and laurens baylys in places hertofore usuall only excepted

This order, so far as it related to malt kilns, was rendered more explicit, and strengthened at the October assembly of the same year, £10 penalty being imposed upon every one not immediately clearing away their malt kilns within the prohibited areas, adding that "it shalbe lawfull for the fermors of the late dissolved howse off saint Andrewes, Gobbians ferme, knolles ferme, Saint James ferme, to have and to use their kyllnes in the accustomed places, and also for any freeman of this towne to place or make malte kylnes in the marholde, saint Andrewes ende and saint Edmondes ende."

We find from the privy council and domestic state papers of 1575, that when Queen Elizabeth was in Northampton for a second time in that year, complaint was made to her majesty by the mayor of Northampton, that some of the townsmen had set the orders of assembly at defiance with regard to the erection of malt kilns

within the liberties. The privy council, sitting at Kenilworth, on July 18th, 1575, referred the matter to the sheriff of the county, Sir John Spencer, and to Sir Richard Knightley. These gentlemen held a local inquiry, and having viewed the places and heard both parties, they (with the consent of the mayor and his brethren), ordered that a former order, made by consent of the whole town in 1571, should be observed, "and the said malt kilns either suppressed or reformed." The offending parties, however, proved contumacious, and in May, 1577, the privy council despatched a letter to the mayor, ordering the offenders at once to conform to the mandate, and if they resisted to take bonds from them to appear before the privy council.

In 1591, at the July meeting of the assembly, it was ordered that every person that had not five buckets, according to the order of 1580, should provide the same by the feast of Saint Bartholomew, or be fined 12d.

The assembly, in April 1599, made further orders that the chamberlain should renew the twelve fire buckets, and keep the same continually renewed and repaired year by year; that in addition to the buckets provided by the mayor and his brethren, and by the forty-eight, that all other burgesses thought by the mayor and justices to be of ability should provide one bucket; that each bucket should have painted on it the initials of the owner; and that all such buckets should be shown to the mayor before the feast of Saint James, under a penalty of two shillings.

In 1612 the first business of the October assembly was again with fires.

Imprimis forasmuch as there have latelie verie dangerous fires happened within this Corporation to the noe small hurte and damage of the inhabitants of this Corporation which would not have bene yf that it had pleased God that the beginninge beinge at the first small had been prevented by store of suche instrumentes and meanes as are now thought fitt and convenient that is with store of buckets for carriage of water, hookes and ladders which are verie fewe and scarce in this Corporation.

It was therefore ordered that the chamberlain provide twelve new town buckets of leather, and see to their constant repair and renewal, and also eight good and sufficient ladders, four long and four short, and six good and sufficient hooks; that the old order as to the mayor and aldermen providing three buckets, the bailiffs and past bailiffs two, and the forty-eight (as well as every commoner and freeman named by the mayor) one, all with their

initials painted thereon be maintained; and further that those who had to provide three buckets and two buckets should always have one of them standing in the church of All Saints, that the ladders and hooks were to be placed in the church, and not let out by the sexton under pain of 12d., and that any one, after a fire, carrying away a bucket that is not his own shall be fined 6s. 8d.

In 1619 the clause relative to the placing of buckets in the church of All Saints was repealed in favour of the buckets being placed in the parish church of the bucket owner. It is obvious from this that the fast closing of parish churches from Sunday to Sunday had not yet obtained any foothold in Northampton.

The assembly took other precautions, from time to time, to lessen the incendiary risks that pertained to so inflammable a town, as witness the following order of September 21st, 1586 —

Whereas there are dyverse Inhabitings and dwellings within the precincts of the Checker, the Gutter and the Draperie that yearly do have in their dwellinge howses, Strawe, Brakes, pease Straw, and Turves, and have not convenients howses and necessyties to laye the same in, Whereby often times great casualties of fyer hath heretofore happened and hereafter ys lyke to chaunce and happen yf Reformation be not prydelye had and taken therein. And therefore it is enacted and by this present assembly ordeined and agreede uppon That no person or persons dwellinge and inhabitinge within the precincts of the Checker, Gutter, nor Draperie havinge noe howses fyte or out howses to laye in any Strawe, Brakes, pease Strawe, or Turves shall laye any of the same in any parte of their dwellinge howses, but in Barnes and other places fitt to laye such kind of Fewell sone, Whereby noe danger may thereby ensewe either to themselves or their neighboures.

A 20s. penalty was imposed upon the breach of this order, and any who had such fuel on their premises were to carry it away before the feast of St. Luke under a like penalty.

It was, moreover, on several occasions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, covenanted by the town on the renewal or granting of leases of decayed houses that they should be covered with tiles or slates instead of straw or reed thatch.

In 1643, when active steps were being taken for the fortifying of the town the risk of fire naturally came under special consideration, and the assembly ordered "that Mr. Mayor at some convenient time inquire and search into the defect in buckits and to put forward the orders heretofore made either for the providing of buckits or for the sending in of money to buye or amend buckits." At the end of the second volume of the orders of assembly is "A Subscription of the parishioners of All Saints for the providing of

Leatherne Buckets for Publique use in tymes of danger by fire." Fifty nine names are entered at 2s. 6d., nine at 5s., six at 1s. 6d., twenty three at 1s., Mr. Rushton 6s. 8d., Mr. Justice Cooke 10s., and "The Lady Farmer for 6 Buckets £1 4s. 0d.," giving a total of £7 7s. 2d. from this parish. This sum, at 4s. a bucket, would provide three dozen for the parish of All Saints. On St. Hugh's day, 1655, there was a great fire in Newland, destroying a large barn full of grain, and also a malt kiln. (Hall's MS.)

A further order, enforcing the old injunctions with regard to fire-buckets, was passed in 1657, when it was also provided that the buckets should be removed from the several churches, and "be all hanged up in some convenient place in the Towne Hall."

In 1668 there was a great fire in Cotton End, close to the further side of the south bridge. One account says that there were only six houses left standing in the short space of two hours.

On September 20th, 1675, at nine o'clock in the forenoon a fire broke out in a house in St. Mary street, near the castle, when a strong west wind was blowing. The fire continued to rage until 6 o'clock on the following morning. More than half the town was destroyed, including the church of All Saints and upwards of 600 dwelling houses, and most of the remainder considerably damaged. The general loss of property was calculated at £150,000. Long and interesting accounts of the thrilling scenes and incidents of this terrible fire, from the pens of eye-witnesses, have been several times published. It is merely proposed in these pages to give certain official statements and entries which have not hitherto been made known.

The market cross was burnt and almost all the buildings, public and private, round the great market square or chequer, but the guildhall was spared. On September 27th the assembly met in the guildhall, when the following were among the orders that were made:—

That Mr Edward Knighton the Mayor Elect by reason of his accepting of the Mayoralty at this most sad and deplorable tyme in Northampton the towne being almost all burnt by a dreadfull fire that happened upon the xx^th of this instant September shall be allowed Thirty Pounds as other Mayors have been allowed. And that Mr Whiston the present Mayor pay the same upon his accompt see much appeares to be in his hands.

That the Gentlemen that are of the Committee for this Corporation at this distressed tyme and such gentlemen as are active for the good of the towne be presented in their freedomes of this Corporation if they please to accept of it, and

that it be forthwith offered to Wm Buckby Esq' Deputy Recorder Sir Edmund Wray William Tate Esq' Robert Hesilrige Esq' Thomas Willoughby Esq' Miles Fleetwood Esq' Charles Fleetwood Esq' Sir Roger Norwich Francis Morgan Esq' Richard Raynsford Esq' Henry Edmunds Esq' Salathiel Lovell Esq' John Hurt Esq' Arundell Esq' Sir John Holman Christofer Thursby Esq' Wm Kymbold gent Robert Ward gent D' Danvers Thomas Ward Esq' and George Raynsford gent.

The committee for the relief of the distressed speedily set to work to provide wooden shelters for the poor, whilst the more enterprising tradesmen ran up timber sheds to serve as shops until more permanent structures could be erected The assembly, on October 15th, wisely agreed "that all shedds built in the body of this towne be covered with slatt tyle or bords, and none be suffered to be covered with straw." At the same assembly it was resolved

That the Common Seal of this Corporation be affixed and putto the Act of Parliament for the rebuilding of this towne according to the alterations now read.

That the Common Seal be affixed to an Order for severall indentures therein mentioned and now read to this howse for disposing the charitable money of Northampton

That the Common Seal be affixed to an Instrument of mortgage graunted to Mr. Missingberd for the securing of one hundred pounds due to him from this Corporation his former mortgage being burnt by the late dreadfull fire, or otherwise miscarryed and lost, and that his interest money for the hundred pounds be cleared of until Michaelmas last

The next assembly, held on November 8th, ordered the borrowing of £100 of the fund of charitable money for the relief of Northampton, "for the rebuilding of the Sessions howse, the old howse being burnt"

Three days later the assembly appointed "Mr Brafield Mr Frend Mr Rands the Chamberlaine the Master of St Thomas Matthias Dawes Richard White and Richard Buckingham to view all the towne landes lately burnt and to take care of the Tymber and Stone."

The assembly met again on December 23rd, when the following orders were agreed to relative to the fire:—

That Publique thanks be given from this howse to George Clarke Esq' for his kindness to this towne.

That letters be sent to Sir James Langham Mr Tho Pilkington and Mr Francis Raynsford to desire them to appoynt persons for returnes of the charitable money

Mr Missingberd Mr Randes Mr Tho Sergeant Mr Theoph Whiston Matthias Dawes and Richard Smythe are desired to wayte upon the Commissioners

for new modelling of the town, and to assist them as to the conveniency of Re-building and setting of the Streetes

That a Petition be presented from this howse to the Treasureres to desire them to accept of the trust in relation to moneys brought in for the use of the towne.

On February 11th, 1675-6, Mr Robert Hesilrige was authorised, under the common seal, to receive the moneys collected in London for the relief of Northampton.

On March 1st, 1675-6, the assembly desired Messrs. Brafield, Frend, Rowell, Whiston, Neele, and Dobson to "view the towne landes lately demolished by the fire and report to this howse what improvements may be made of them or their backsides." At the same time Joseph Dobson was granted a lease of a tenement in Newland belonging to St. Thomas' Hospital for 41 years at an annual rental of 45s., "he building a substantial dwelling house upon the same ground lately demolished by the fire" From this date, for the next year or two, various leases for 99 years were granted by the corporation of town lands at low rentals, on condition of tenements being immediately and substantially re-built.

"An Act for the better and more easie Rebuilding the Town of Northampton" was passed in 1675.

The preamble recites that the greater part of the town had been burnt down by a sudden and dreadful fire in September last, and that by reason thereof divers suits and controversies seemed likely to arise between several proprietors and claimants in connection with the re-building, which might prove a great hindrance—that therefore the judges of assize for Northamptonshire and other judges of the supreme courts for the time being, and the justices of the peace for the county, and the mayor of Northampton, with Sir John Holman, Sir Edmund Bray, Thomas Willughby, James Stedman, Robert Hesilrige, Thomas Andrews, Thomas Ward, Charles Fleetwood, Daniel Danvers, Salathiel Lovell, and William Kimbold, Esquires, or any five or more of them, sitting at the guildhall or some other place in Northampton, shall constitute a court of record, and by verdict, testimony of witnesses on oath, examination of parties interested, or otherwise (without the usual formalities of proceedings in courts of law or equity) shall determine all differences and demands that may arise between landlords, tenants, lessees, under tenants, late occupiers of any of the houses or buildings, touching their rebuilding, non-rebuilding, or repairs, or concerning payments, apportioning of payments, or abatement of

rents, etc., and that the order of the court shall be definite and final from which there can be no appeal. The court had extraordinary powers conferred upon it of altering estates, notwithstanding infancy or coverture, and of absolute dealing with episcopal and corporate property; to make rules and directions as to the form and order of buildings, to enlarge or alter streets, lanes, roads, and passages; to treat and compound for ground thus to be used, and in case of refusal or disability then to empanel a jury; to make alterations in foundations if they see cause; to award satisfaction; to dispose of ground not built upon within three years to those who would build; to see that all houses are covered with lead, slate, or tile; and that no perilous trade with respect to fire was exercised; that an appeal against an order made by less than seven of the commissioners may be made within twenty days, if approved by one of the judges of assize or judges of the higher courts, and that the case may be tried again in Northampton by seven or any greater number of the commissioners; that the mayor keep a register book for the orders; that (to encourage gentlemen to build and reside in the town) justices of the peace for the county of Northampton being inhabitants of the town shall be also justices of the town; that any one building a house worth £300 within seven years shall have his freedom; and that all commissioners under the act take an oath of fair and just execution of its powers.

The act also, in stating that no private ground was to be taken save for the enlargement, made some special regulations with regard to sites in the town, namely, that this was to be done to enlarge the passage between the South street and the street called the Drapery the corner house (late in the tenure of Bartholomew Manning) being removed; that the corner between the Drapery and Sheep market be enlarged, that the streets or passages both on the north and south side of All Saints' church be enlarged; that all houses which stood between the buildings on the south side of the market hill called Mercers Row, and the north side of the market hill be taken away; that the corner between the Market place and Abington street be enlarged; and that the passage which went about the middle of the east side of the Drapery into the Market place be enlarged.

The register book of the orders of this interesting commission with these unique powers is still extant. It consists of a folio

paper book of 309 pages of orders, with a few extra pages on which is a transcript of the act.

The commission made seventy-nine decrees, the whole of which are set out in this volume, with the original signatures of the commissioners. The first is dated April 5th, 1676, and the last on October 10th, 1685, the act was only operative for ten years.

These decrees for the most part are concerned with the settlement of intricate succession or boundary questions, and it would be of no general interest or utility to offer any analysis or summary of each case. Nevertheless, as this court was so entirely original and unique in character, and proved itself so admirably adapted for the purpose for which it was intended, it may be well to give one of the shorter cases *in extenso*. At the same time it should be understood that it must not be regarded as any exact sample of the rest, for almost each case has its strong points of dissimilarity to the remainder :—

At the Court of Judicature held by the Commissioners appoynted for the better and more easy Rebuilding the Towne of Northampton at the Guildhall there on Satterday the first day of July Ano Dni 1676 In the Eight and Twentieth yeare of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles the second over England etc

Mr Edward Knighton Mayor
William Tate Esqr
Thomas Willoughby Esqr
Charles Fleetwood Esqr
Francis Morgan Esqr
William Kimbould Esqr
} Present

William Smyth of the Towne of Northton Mason Petitioner against Tobias Rands and William Lowick and Frances his wife and Dorothy Smyth sister to the petitioner Wm Smyth Defendents

Whereas the said William Smyth hath Exhibited his Petition into this Court thereby setting forth that the Petitioners father dyed seized of a Tenement and backside in Newland in the Towne of Northampton which came to him by his first wife by whom he had Dorothy one of the Defendants whoe was heire att Law to the premises And that the said Dorothy above Twenty yeares since went out of England hath not beene yet heard off but is supposed and reported to be dead And that the petitioners mother his fathers second wife enjoyed the premises from the death of his father until the fire That by the said dreadfull fire the said Tenement was burnt downe and demolished And that since the said fire the other defendants Tobias Rand and Frances wife of William Lowick or one of them pretend some Tytle to the premises That the Petitioner is willing and ready to Rebuild the said Demolished Tenement provided he may be incouredged thereunto by the Decree of this Court To which end he prayed this Court to graunt Summons to warne the several Defendants to appeare in this Court To the intent such Order and Decree

may be made touching the premises as to this court should seem just and reasonable Whereupon summons were granted and issued accordingly And the said Defendants having been thereupon summoned appeared personally here in Court this day And upon reading this said Petition and debateing the severall matters therein contevned It appeared to the Court That the Tytle to the premises was in Dorothy Smyth the other Defendant And the aforesaid Tobias Rand and Frances Lowick wife of William Lowick had noe Tytle or Interest in the premises as they could any way make out to the Court And by reason the said Dorothy Smyth cannot be found out or heard off since she went out of England whereby the premises are like to lye Demolished and unbuilt unles by the decree of this Court the Petitoner William Smyth shal be incouredged to Rebuild the said Tenement Therefore for Determination of all differences between the Petitioner and the Defendants and for his incouredgment to Rebuild the said Tenement This Court doth Order and Decree That the said Petitioner William Smyth be the Builder of the said Tenement and he shall Hold and Enjoy the premises to him and his heires But if it shall happen the said Dorothy Smyth shal returne and make out a good Tytle to the premises That then the said Dorothy shall pay the Petioner William Smyth the full charge of the Building of the said Tenement And in consideration thereof this Court doth further Order and Decree that the said William Smyth with all convenient speede shall cause to be Erected and rebuilt upon the Toft or piece of ground whereon formerly stood the said Tenement soe burnt downe and demolished by the said dreadfull fire another good and substantial house or Tenement according to such rules and directions as have been made by this Court in Lanes and Outskirtes in the Towne of Northton And lastly this Court doth Order and Decree that the said Petitioner William Smyth his heires and assignes shall and may peaceably and quietly have hold and Enjoy the Toft of ground and the Tenement to be thereon Erected in pursuance of this Decree with the backside thereunto adjoining and belonging ag^t the aforesaid Tobias Rands and William Lowick and Frances his wife and against the said Dorothy Smyth and her heirs until she shall returne and make out a good tytle to the premises and shall pay fully for the Rebuilding of the Tenement hereby intended to be Erected and Rebuilt And ag^t all other persons clayming any Estate right tytle or interest whatsoever in Law or equity or other Incumbrances upon the premises whatsoever according to the aforesaid Act of Parliament.

Edward Knighton,
Mayor

Tho Willoughby
Wul Tate
Fr Morgan
Ch Fleetwood

The following is a copy of the large painted board in the consistory court of All Saints' church, now nearly illegible in some parts —

A Table of the worthy Benefactors voluntaryly contributing towards the Rebuilding the Church of All Saints and Reliefe of sufferers by the dreadfull fire in Northampton, which happened on the twentieth day of September, 1675.

The Royal Gift of KING CHARLES ye II A 1000 tunn of Timber and seaven yeares chimney money collected in the Towne of Northampton.

The Earle of Northampton	120	00	00
Earle of Sunderland	120	00	[illegible]
Duke of Kent	50	00	00
Earl of Cardigan	50	00	00
Lord Arlington	100	00	00
Lord Crewe	50	00	00
Lord Montague	50	00	00
Lord Rockingham & Lady	25	00	00
Lord Arch. Bp of Canterbury	100	00	00
Lord Cheif Justice Raynsford	40	00	00
Lord Cheif Baron Montague	10	00	00
Joseph Lord Bp of Peterborow	40	00	00
Lord Primate of Ireland	05	00	00
Lord Bishop of Litchfeild and Coventree	05	[illegible]	00
Ralph Montague Esq	40	00	00
Sr William Farmer	100	00	00
Sr William Langham	100	00	00
Sr Thomas Isham	50	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sr Roger Norwich	15	00	[illegible]
Sr Thomas Samwell & Family	65	00	00
Sr Charles Yelverton	30	00	00
Sr Thomas Crewe	20	00	00
Sr Edward Nicholls	30	00	00
Sr John Robinson	30	00	00
Sr William Craven	10	00	00
Sr William Pargiter	15	00	00
Sr John Barnard	23	00	00
Sr Robert Shirley	20	00	[illegible]
Sr William Coventry	10	00	00
Sr Thomas Proby	[illegible]	00	00
Sr Rouland Berkly	12	06	06
Sr Walter St Johns	10	00	00
Sr Richard Earle	10	00	00
Sr John Crew	05	00	00
The Lady Baltinglas	05	00	00
Lady Pyle	10	00	00
Lady Wilbram	05	00	[illegible]
Lady Knightly	10	00	00
Lady Smyth	02	03	00
Lady Isham	20	00	00
Lady Earle	05	00	00
Lady Rockingham	05	00	[illegible]
Mrs Mary Isham	05	00	00
Mrs Mary Crew	05	00	00
Mrs Mary Nichols	05	00	00
Mrs Jane Gore	05	00	00
George Holman, Esq	100	00	00
Paul Wentworth Esq	100	[illegible]	00
John Cartwright Esq	[illegible]	00	[illegible]
William Cartwright Esq	20	[illegible]	[illegible]
Devereux Knightley Esq	40	00	[illegible]
George Clark Esq	20	[illegible]	00
Auchitel Gray Esq	20	00	00
William Alston Esq	15	00	[illegible]
Richard Raynsford Esq	15	00	00
Thomas Ward Esq	10	00	[illegible]
Edward Harsby Esq	10	00	00
Edward Stratford Esq	10	00	00
Henry Edmonds Esq	05	00	00
Andrew Lant Esq	05	00	[illegible]
Francis Lane Esq	05	00	00
John Ekins Esq	05	00	00
Thomas Catesby Esq	05	00	00
Edward Hales Esq	20	00	[illegible]
Dr Townson	30	00	00
Richard Hampden Esq	10	[illegible]	00
Y^e Gent of Sr Fra Comptons Troop	20	00	00
Mr Parnell	05	00	00
George Dodson Esq	05	00	00
John White Esq	05	00	00
Mr Jo Warren Minist of Hatfeild	32	00	00
Mr John Smart	08	08	06
Mr Sayres	01	00	[illegible]
Mr Chibnold	02	00	[illegible]
Mr Vaux	03	05	00
Mr Burr	01	11	00
Mr Floyd	02	00	00
John Thorney Esq	02	10	00
Ashton	02	14	04
Alcester	26	02	06
Alesbury	26	00	00
Adson	06	00	00
Abbington	99	19	00
Buckingham	21	00	00
Brabrooke	05	10	00
Bedford	[illegible]	[illegible]	00

Birmingham ...	67	01	10
Bugbrook	11	01	10
Bistor...	39	00	01
Banbury ...	110	15	00
Braynston	20	14	00
Coventree	200	00	00
Chipping Norton	46	00	00
Corby	07	00	00
Colebrafeild ...	08	00	00
Cambridge University ...	286	05	06
Cambridge Corporation	85	13	04
Cottingham	10	00	00
Darby...	150	00	00
Dadford ...	05	00	00
Daventry	56	02	09
Eversham	42	00	[illegible]
Edon (*sic*) ...	12	15	00
Eversdon	09	03	10
Grantham	81	00	09
Harborow	13	[illegible]	07
Hitching	71	13	00
Herringhold	02	00	11
Huntington ...	45	18	04
Hayle Weston	05	00	00
Holliwell	07	10	00
Hinckley ...	12	07	04
Higham-ferris	20	00	00
Hatford ...	03	00	00
Kings Cliffe	20	01	06
Kings Rippon ...	02	14	05
London City about .	5000	00	00
Leicester ...	50	00	00
Loughborow ...	15	00	00
Laundon ...	10	00	00
Litterworth ...	16	00	00
Lincolne...	118	02	00
Melton-Mowbray	29	00	07
Manchester	155	10	07
Nottingham ...	150	00	00
Newport-Pagnell	54	04	01
Oakly-Magna	16	00	00
Oundle	37	00	00
Orlingbury ...	02	12	08
Odewell ...	13	00	00
Overston	05	02	06
Oxford University	450	00	00
Oxford City	124	06	08
Olney...	27	05	03
Pattishall	10	19	04
Peterborow	30	00	00
Rothwell	18	00	00
Ramsey ...	13	00	10
Slapton	04	02	06
Shernford	0	10	00
Sherly	04	10	00
Stamford ..	80	00	00
Stebbington-Bedford	06	11	00
Spellsbury	08	06	09
Southam	10	17	04
Stratford upon Avon ...	118	00	11
St Ives	30	05	06
Thorp Malser	07	02	09
Warwick	171	10	07
Warmington	10	00	00
Welden	08	16	00
Weston and Weedon ...	[illegible]	00	00
Woodstock ...	31	12	00
Wellingborow	66	11	06
Yardly-Gobion	02	[illegible]	00
Yorke city	100	00	00

The domestic state papers make mention of a fire in Northampton early in September, 1669, which in less than three hours destroyed seventeen dwelling houses.

On May 11th, 1694, a dismal fire broke out at four o'clock in the afternoon, and the town was much endangered, through some children making a fire in a baker's yard in the Gaol street. At first the case seemed desperate, particularly at the White Hart, and the neighbours came with teams to fetch the goods away; but

the extraordinary diligence of the workmen, and the shifting of the wind combined to effect the saving of the town.

In 1701 the corporation spent £1 4s. in repairing the leather buckets, and 12s. in mending the engine. Three great fire hooks were made in 1705, at a cost of £2 6s. The same year the men who played the engine received 6s. 4d.

The mayor's accounts for 1715 have the following entry relative to a small fire, of which we have no other record.—

s. d.

P^d at Digs Coffe house about setting a Wark and examining witnesses about a fire 3^s 9^d, and more 2^s 6^d, p^d West helping with his water cart 2^s 6^d 8 9

In the same year 3s. was paid for painting three fire hooks, and 22s for mending the engine. Six men "to play the Engine 2 dayes" were paid 6s. 4d.

The fire hooks mentioned throughout these minutes were long heavy poles of wood, with iron hooks, and usually also bound with iron, and having loops of the same metal at the butt end. They varied in length, from 20 to 30, or even 35 feet They were used to drag down buildings that had already caught fire, or sometimes to pull down two or three houses in a row in a town fire, so as to make a gap, and thus prevent the flames spreading. The hooks were raised and let fall over the roof-tree or ridge-beam. When the hook had taken hold a number of men dragged at the other end by the aid of ropes passed through the loops. Occasionally horses were fastened by chains to the butt ends, so as to obtain greater destructive power. This way of working fire hooks is shown in an old engraving of the great fire of Tiverton in 1598. It was usual to keep fire hooks in the tower of the parish church. There is a fine pair of old fire hooks in the church of Raunds, in this county, and another pair at the adjacent church of Stanwick; there is also a single example in the church of Harringworth.

The Conduits and Waterworks.

The great conduit, with the conduit hall above it, was built on the lower or south side of the market place in the time of Edward IV. One account gives the exact year as 1461, another 1478, and a third 1481; we believe the last of these dates to be correct It was supplied with water by pipes from the spring known as the conduit-head in a field to the east of the town, where the hospital of St. Andrew now stands. In 1543 the pipes to the conduit were

relaid so as to ensure a better water supply. The hall above the conduit was used for various guild meetings and trade purposes authorised by the town

The little conduit was, however, by far the older building, and was supplied with water from the same springs. After the erection of the great conduit, in a far more convenient situation, the water was first conducted to the great conduit, and thence by pipes to its smaller predecessor The little conduit stood close to All Saints' church, at the south-west angle of the churchyard, and escaped the fire. Woodcuts of the little conduit have appeared in guide books and small histories, but they are of later date, after the building had lost its elegant pinnacles. These pinnacles, after many repairs and renewals, were so much damaged in a gale in 1815, that they were then finally removed. It was an octagonal building, of pure Decorated design, ornamented with a handsome pierced parapet, and having a series of square traceried panels, two to each face, immediately below the parapet.

There is no doubt that this small conduit was first placed here at the time of the extension and rebuilding of the town, which began in 1300.

The following is the earliest entry relative to the conduits in the orders of assembly —

M^o the Sonday the xxvij^th day of January a^o 1554 Thomas Walker and Thomas Wattes m^rs of the Condit did bring in as treasure to the Condyt the Some of xxxv^s j^d wherof they askthe allowance for Reperacions leyd out for the ivtill condyt as may apeare by a bill of the particulars the some of viii^s So rest declare as treasure in their handes to the Condyt xxviij^s j^d.

The subsequent minutes of the October meetings of the assembly almost invariably name masters of the conduit or conduits amongst the annually elected borough officials. Very early, too, in these records occur the mention of "key bearers" among the elected servants of the corporation. Under the year 1589, the term is explained by the fuller title of "key bearers of the conduit," and a subsequent entry styles them "key bearers of every conduit."

An assembly of July 1583, ordered "that there shalbe a Seysment made of xx^s to be levyede out of all the Towne towards the bringing home of the condytte and every man (? freeman) to fynd a workman for iij dayes." Nine burgesses were appointed as assessors to collect the rate. If any one refused or neglected to

pay, he was to pay a fine of 6s. 8d., or be committed to prison at Mr. Mayor's discretion.

In 1587 a life contract was entered into with William Huthwytt plumber, to "repaire keepe and mayntayne well sufficienthe and in good sorte the condytte with the cockes cesternes pypes and leade thereof," so that the town dwellers may have a great plenty of water. The town also covenanted to provide Hutthwytt at their cost with workmen to dig the ground, and to purchase such new cocks and lead as might be required from time to time.

Apparently the arrangement with Huthwytt was not satisfactory for in 1590 the assembly voted five pounds to James Brasegirdle and John Danbye, the conduit masters, for the repairs of the conduit, which was in many ways in decay.

In 1604 it was again reported that the town conduits were "greatly in decaye," and it was ordered that five pounds be raised by assessment.

The summer of 1608 was one of exceptional drought, and the assembly, at a meeting in August, authorised the conduit masters to shut up the conduit at seven o'clock in the evening, and to keep them locked till six o'clock the following morning. They were then to remain open till ten o'clock in the forenoon, and from that hour till two o'clock in the afternoon to be again closed. No townsman was, by himself or servant, to bring or send more than one cowle or tub to fill with water at a time, and he was quietly to wait his turn at the conduit. No cowle or tub was to be brought to any conduit but such as would stand upright under the conduit cock.

£16 13s. 4d. was raised by assessment for the repairs of the conduit on two different occasions in 1612; £20 in 1618, £10 in 1620, and another £10 in 1627. In the last-named year the money was levied for the repair of the "conduits and towne arches", by this last term are meant, we conclude, the open archways or colonnade below the central part of the conduit building in the market place, which had, however, been already filled up and utilised for shops.

Owing to the continual fetching, carrying, and drawing of water from the conduit by innkeepers and victuallers for brewing purposes, there was frequently great scarceness of water. The assembly, therefore, in 1630, ordered that every innkeeper drawing water for brewing purposes should pay to the chamberlain 2s. 6d. for water

for every several brewing, and every alehouse keeper 12d. for each brewing, and that no innkeeper or alehouse keeper bring any other or greater tub than now be set under the conduit cocks from time to time.

In the same year it was agreed that the chamberlain should cause a lead pipe, grafted into the house lately occupied by Mr. Hensman into the large lead pipe that goeth from the great conduit to the little conduit, to be cut off and destroyed.

In 1631 it was agreed that the fines under the order of 1630, as to paying for water brewing, were to be levied by the conduit masters and the thirdborough of the checker ward, upon a warrant under the mayor's seal, and that the conduit masters were to be held responsible for enforcing fines for every breach of the order under a penalty of 5s for every negligence.

Difficulties were still met with in carrying out this water paying order, and in 1652 the assembly agreed that the penalties for its breach should be strictly enforced and increased, and that any offending innkeeper or alehouse keeper or thirdborough (neglecting his duty) should be fined 3s. 6d, 2s. 6d. of which was to go to the corporation and 12d. to the informer, and that any water carrier carrying water from the conduits to any innkeeper or alehouse keeper before he has paid the imposed sum to the chamberlain or any fines that may be due, shall be himself fined 12d for every offence

The shops under the conduit hall were leased in 1650 for 61 years to Mr John Twigden, at a rent of £4 In the same year the stairs for going up into the conduit hall were repaired at the chamber's charge A portion of the buildings beneath the conduit hall were used in this century as a bridewell, or house of correction, as has been already stated in a previous section.

In 1650 a committee, consisting of the mayor, aldermen, and a few other members of the assembly, was appointed to confer with Mr Thomas Morgan and Mr. Francis Cook, and other inhabitants of Kingsthorpe, to obtain liberty to have the spring called Swarbutts Head brought to Northampton by a large pipe, and to arrange for some small rent as an acknowledgment for breaking the ground and bringing the water.

An order was made in 1684 prohibiting any branch pipes or connections from either of the conduits, and for cutting off at once Mr Knighton's pipe

In 1685 it was ordered that the surplus money from the sale of the mills be spent upon building two houses at the conduit hall. In 1686 the assembly voted £50 towards the building of these houses, and further ordered that the west gate should be taken down, and the stones and materials employed in the buildings at the great conduit. In the following year £100 was borrowed towards "building and finishing the howses and shops att the old Conduit neere the Markett place."

The assembly gave power in 1689 to Mr. Richard Raynsford and others to break up the ground in the streets and other places within the liberties for the purpose of conveying water to the town, and also to open up and secure any springs upon void grounds. Various impediments arose in the working out of this scheme.

On April 6th, 1691, it was ordered that Richard Raynsford, Francis Arundell, and others have the piece of ground adjoining of the north side of the waterworks near Scarlet well for £10, and to have a conveyance of the same under the common seal.

Scarlet well was situated at the north-west side of the town at the bottom of the street that still bears its name. It certainly was of repute at the beginning of the reign of Henry III., and probably in the previous century. Scarletwell street is mentioned in a British Museum charter of 1239. The old tradition that the well took its name from its real or supposed excellent qualities for scarlet dyeing is undoubtedly true. According to Morton's history, cloth was sent here from London to be dyed scarlet. Two of the earliest industries of Northampton were the weaving of cloth and its dyeing. There was a guild or fraternity of dyers at Northampton well established as early as 1274, and the town bye-laws of the next century have special regulations with regard to this industry. The finer kind of dyeing was usually done in the Netherlands, the common English dyes being black, and various shades of brown and red.

English cloth was sometimes sent as far as Italy to obtain a true scarlet dye, so that we need not be surprised at its occasional excessive cost. As much as fifteen shillings was given by the warden of Merton College, Oxford, in 1379, for half a yard of scarlet cloth, probably for some very special hood. In the fifteenth century certain bales of cloth that had been sent to Nottingham to be dyed scarlet emerged from the vats a muddy red, and were

then transferred by the merchants to Northampton to obtain a better colour. Mrs. Kerr, the widow of the founder of the new infirmary, erected "a neat brick building" over the historic Scarletwell in 1837. This building still exists, but the well is closed

Revised plans were approved by the assembly in September, 1703. The preamble stated that Messrs. Arundell, Raynsford, and Ives, had been at great expense in "erecting a Waterworke within the Liberties to supply all persons with water," which undertaking had not been perfected. It was therefore ordered that so soon as three substantial workmen shall certify that the pipes are in good order and sufficient to convey water to all persons that ever rented water, that then and for so long as the water work is in good order, no person shall fetch water from either the great or the little conduit in any vessel that will hold more than five gallons, that the conduit masters shall use their utmost diligence in seeing that no larger vessels are used, in keeping the conduits locked at the usual times, and by prohibiting housekeepers and innkeepers from using the conduit water for washing or brewing, and that the undertakers may act for the conduit masters if they neglect their duty.

In 1708 reference was again made by the assembly to the old grants of the corporation to Messrs. Raynsford and Arundell and others of liberty to break up the pavements, etc., and to lay pipes to supply the town with water from Scarlet well, which undertaking had failed. It was then reported that two other persons were willing to undertake the work, and to perform it effectually. The assembly resolved that if the new undertakers would give £200 to the old undertakers and supply the town with water duly and constantly, they should have like grants to the old ones In case, however, the old undertakers did not agree, then the new ones should have the grants provided they engaged to indemnify the corporation from any suits or charges that might be brought against them.

The orders of assembly show that by 1712 Alderman Agutter had bought the old waterhouse, and works and grounds adjoining; at that date the corporation granted him a very small plot of land on the north-east of the waterhouse, on the nominal payment of 5s.

The conduits were not, however, given up, and in 1716 the

mayor was directed to arrange with workmen for the thorough repair and amendment of the pipes from the conduit head in the fields to the great conduit, to secure a better supply of water, and he was instructed to borrow money under the town seal for this purpose.

The revised scheme proving equally futile, the assembly, in 1717, authorised the expenditure of £160 in endeavouring to obtain an act of parliament for supplying the town with water, "for supplying the necessary uses of the inhabitants and for the prevention of any future calamity that may happen by fire"

Meanwhile, in 1719, Mr. William Wykes made an elaborate proposal for securing a complete water supply, which was accepted, and full power was conferred on him of using the river, streams, and springs as he thought best, and of utilising all old cisterns and pipes throughout the liberties.

In 1720 the assembly assigned full control of the great and little conduits, and transferred to him the duty of appointing conduit master or masters, provided that none of the inhabitants were to be hindered using the conduits until such time as the main pipes were fully supplied, nor when they were out of order, it was ordered that the waterworks should not be taxed to the public or parish taxes.

In 1721 it was announced that the works were very far advanced and nearly finished, and the assembly entered into a further and stringent covenant with Mr. Wykes, whereby the former grants were established, and particularly that of prohibiting any inhabitant from drawing more than three gallons from the old conduits in one day.

The mayor and aldermen, on November 25th, 1728, agreed to the following preamble:—

"Whereas there often is and of late hath been a very great Scarcity of water in the Conduits belonging to the Town of Northampton So that the principal Inhabitants are put to great Inconveniencys by their servants waiting so long before they can get any Water occasioned chiefly by persons fetching Water to sell, and for washing and brewing in great Quantity contrary to the ancient Customs and Usages of this Corporation." The order based on this preamble was to the effect that they requested Mr. Wykes to direct his conduit keepers to prevent any one from fetching water from either of the conduits for selling, washing, or brewing, and that he will

suffer the conduits to be open but three hours in the morning, and the like space of time in the afternoon.

In 1751 the assembly gave leave to Mr. Henry Locock (the mayor) and other subscribers to sink a well, and erect and enclose a pump for their own use, and that of their heirs and assigns, upon a piece of waste ground belonging to the corporation at the top of the Drapery, provided that in case of any publick calamity or misfortune by fire, the inhabitants of the whole town are to be at liberty to have and fetch the said water towards extinguishing the flames thereof gratis.

In the same year like authority, with a like proviso, was given to eight persons to sink a well and erect a pump upon the ground in the open street near their dwellings, at the top of Bridge street, provided also "that the passage of all the kings people as well on horseback as on foot with their horses cattle carts and carriages goods wares and merchandizes be not stopped or obstructed from freely passing and repassing at their free will and pleasure and also that the said subscribers doe erect and set a Lamp upon the said intended pump and keep the same constantly lighted and burning in all dark nights till break of day between Michaelmas and Ladyday for ever."

Leave was also given at the end of the same year to a small number of subscribers to sink a well and erect yet another pump in the open street; it was situate in the Drapery against the lane leading from thence into the Market Hill. It was to be furnished with a lamp in like manner to the one in Bridge street.

In 1752 the assembly ordered that the governor and trustees of the county hospital may have the privilege at their cost and charge of conveying the water running waste from the great conduit at the lower end of the Market Hill to fill and supply a large cistern lately made and fixed at the hospital, and intended to be used as a cold bath.

In 1830 the committee for the erection of a wall and iron rails round All Saints' churchyard petitioned the assembly for leave to remove the little conduit at the south-west corner of the churchyard. The petition was referred to the committee of survey and they were requested to consider of the propriety of doing away with the great conduit as well as the little conduit, constructing one large tank.

In 1831 the committee advised and the assembly approved of the erection of a large tank capable of holding at least fifty hogsheads on the Wood Hill, at the south-east angle of the churchyard, and that the corporation take down the little conduit on its completion

It was reported to the August assembly, 1831, that the new tanks and pumps had been completed on Wood hill some months, and answered exceedingly well, that there had been no water in either of the conduits since the tanks were used, and that the public seemed quite satisfied. The assembly resolved at once to take down the little conduit, so that the wall and palisading round the churchyard might be completed.

The following interesting entry of the last year of James I., relative to street noises, shows how frequent was the use of water carts throughout the town. In order to prevent the noise and the damage to the pavements done by the continual drawing of diverse water carts "which are shod with neales and iron, it was agreed by the assembly on October 14th, 1624, that 40s., to be levied by distress, should be the penalty on any person within the liberties who had a water-cart thus iron-shod. Half the penalty was to go to the poor, and half to the chamber Those who had iron-shod water carts were to have till the day after the next fair day (when there would be opportunity of buying new wheels) before the penalty was imposed.

This Jacobean order is of much interest with regard to the construction of carts It is clear, from this order, that even at that time the ordinary cart was simply possessed of plain wooden wheels, called in the old farm inventories *planæ* or *nudæ* to distinguish them from prepared wheels, which were termed *ferratæ* or *rotæ ad ligandum* The comparative dearness of iron made our forefathers content, for a long period, to have their rougher kinds of carts borne on solid wheels, made simply in one piece from the section of a large tree, and bored for a rude axle Such carts constantly appear in medieval drawings of agricultural operations The occasional use of the solid wheel continued far later than this period, as is shown by the Northampton traverse toll regulations of the next century.

The town was at no time altogether dependent upon the conduit for the water supply In the time of Elizabeth there was at least

one pump kept in repair by the town authorities, and soon afterwards we find that various wells were similarly maintained.

In 1371, the chamberlains were ordered to see to "the makinge of the pumpe in the market place."

This pump in the chequer was frequently repaired during the next twenty years, and at last the assembly, in 1593, decided to abolish the pump, and re-establish a drawing well on the site.

Before long, however, a new pump must have been provided, for in July, 1603, the assembly voted 20s. to be expended by the chamberlains:—

"For and towardes the repaire of the pompe within Checker warde nigh the Corne hill there soe as the inhabitants neare adjoyning or dwelling to the saide pompe doe cause the same pompe fourthwithe to be well and sufficienthe repayred in all thinges at their owne proper costes and charges over and above the said same of twenie shillings."

Yet a further change was made in 1605, when it was resolved that the pump over the well near the market cross be removed, so that it might once again be used as a draw-well. Soon after this the well was enclosed after an ornamental fashion, and roofed with lead.

In 1629 it was ordered that the wells at Mercers' row, in All Saints' churchyard, near St. Giles' churchyard, and in St. Michael's lane should all be repaired at the public charge.

In 1668 the two town pumps, one in the market place, and the other by All Saints' church, were ordered to be repaired at the town charge.

The mayor was ordered and authorised, in 1745, to put the pumps on the Market hill, and by Mercers' row, adjoining All Saints' churchyard wall, in proper repair.

As early as the thirteenth century there is documentary evidence of the existence of a well, outside Northampton, dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. A modern would-be legend asserts that the archbishop paused to drink here on his night flight from Northampton, on the morning of October 19th, 1165, and that it thence derived its name. The folly of this tale is obvious when we consider that the archbishop escaped from the north gate, and proceeded along the north road. Why, when making that secret flight on horseback, he should have ridden all round the town to get to this well on the south-east side, no explanation is offered. Nor are we told what produced this sudden thirst, when he had

but a few minutes before left the comfortable quarters of St. Andrew's priory.

The fact is that this well, like many of a similar dedication had its origin in the small phials of "Canterbury water" almost invariably brought back by the Canterbury pilgrims in the early days of the Becket shrine. These phials contained water mingled with minute particles of the blood of the martyred saint, which was supposed to be possessed of curative properties. Some of the faithful pilgrims on their return shortly after the murder, obtained leave from the local ecclesiastical authorities to empty their phials into some pure spring or well, which was then solemnly blessed, and assigned to the special protection of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Long after the Reformation the well was held in special repute, and guarded from defilement. The orders of assembly in 1629 strictly enjoined that no glover was to hang or lay any sheep skins or leather upon the hedge of St. Thomas' well.

In 1718 an iron dish was purchased for St. Thomas' well, at a cost of 2s. 6d., and a chain for the same at 9d. This is an unusually early instance of a drinking vessel permanently attached to a well. In 1765 10s. 6d. was paid for a ladle for the same well.

The chamberlain's accounts for almost every year from about this date to the end of the century, included a charge of 6s. for the cleansing of St. Thomas' well. In the year 1800 occurs the following charge:—"Cave and others for underdraining and work at St. Tho's Well, £4 3s. 9d."

The present somewhat pretentious structure over the well was erected by the corporation in 1843 at a cost of £210.

Not far from the clear spring of St. Thomas' well an interesting discovery of a spring of chalybeate water was made in the year 1702. It received the name of Vigo because its discovery synchronised with the capture and sacking of the port of Vigo, in Spain, by the combined English and Dutch fleets. The medical men of the town and district were loud in praise of its medicinal qualities, and several extraordinary cures were effected by its use. Some of the more spirited inhabitants hoped that the town might, ere long, become a watering place of no small repute.

In 1703 the assembly gave the mayor power to expend £30 in planting trees, making walks, "and other occasions and conveniences to be ornamentall and usefull. To make good and preserve

the New wells lately found in the Cow Meadow against the Clack Mills."

In the following year the £30 was laid out in accordance with the resolution, and the mayor's accounts for 1705-6 contain the following additional items.—

	s.	d.
Payd Boone fetching 4 Trees for the Wells from Kingsthorpe	1	6
P^d for 30 stakes and watering and taking care of the Trees	18	6
P^d for a man to help him 10 tymes to water the trees	15	0
P^d Mr Clarke for Thoms to fence the trees	[illegible]	6
P^d for Bands	1	3

In 1784 the new walk, upwards of 300 yards long, connecting the two wells, was laid out at considerable expense. The following is the order of the court of alderman with respect to it, which was passed at their meeting on October 29th, 1783

That a Gravel walk be formed and made, and a row of Trees such as the present Chamberlains Mr John Lacy and Mr Alderman Cole shall approve of be planted as soon as the season will permit at the Corporation expense from the Turn Stile at Cow Meadowe Gate near Thomas à Becketts Well to range in a straight Line to Vigo Well, and that the same be properly Fenced to preserve them from the Cattle and incourage the Growth thereof in Order to form an agreeable shelter between the said Trees

Sanitary Condition of the Streets and Houses.

The orders relative to the paving and cleansing of the streets, and the condition of the houses, are frequent and interesting. The corporation of Northampton were well abreast of the times in the various sanitary precautions that they took during the late Tudor and early Stuart days.

In the first year of Elizabeth it was ordered that "no man shall make a stable of a tenement standinge in the High streete nor put any such tenement to the use of a stable upon the peyne of xx^s to the chamber." The term "High" as applied to the street in this order does not refer to any specific thoroughfare of that name, but is a generic term applying to all the public main streets, and corresponds to the term "highway" as still in regular use.

At the same assembly it was ordered that "all men that breake any pavement for any boothe stall pay xij^s for every hole made, or else shall leave it as good as they fynde it upon like paine of xij^s"

In 1566 the assembly enjoined upon all those who followed the occupation of "whittawers and tanneres" the duty of once every year cleansing the towne of all manner of carrion and carrion bones according to ancient custom, and forbade them killing any manner of "murrian and carrion beastes" save in the appointed place. At the same time the inhabitants were warned that any one depositing carrion or carrion bones in the streets, or anywhere save in the appointed places would be fined 10s.

The following elaborate and stringent order was agreed to by the assembly on September 15th, 1568:—

That whereas heretofore there hath byn orders taken divers and sundery tymes for the Reformation of the greate disorder of the Inhabitauntes of this towne in Laying of ther swepinges of ther howses and other dunge and fylthe in diverse places of this towne to the great annoyaunce of the inhabitauntes thereof. Which orders hounge nothinge wayde, but all togither neglected by a number of disordrye and evyll disposed persones Contrary to the expectations of such as take paine in making the sa de orders, It is therefore thoaght goode and at this present assembly yt ys established that no common dunghill shalte made within the gates of the towne but altogether at those placis apointed to wit without the west gate by the Rivere side, and without the northe gate, and without the east gate on the right hande, and other without the desrne gate, and for the southe parte at the breake by the River side, and who soever shalbe taken layinge or knowen to lay any kinde off swepinge dirte or dunge in any other place but only in these five places apointed shall forfeit and pay for every time so offendinge vij[d] (originally written nij[d]), halfe to the presenter and the other halfe to the pore mans boxe without favor or pardon, or else imprisonement at M[r] Mayors pleasure.

In 1579 the assembly decided not to leave the carrying out of the just cited order to private informers, and appointed six overseers "to look that the people in every quarter lay ther duste and other fylthe at placis appoynted." Six such overseers were chosen, who served respectively in "Checker and Newlande Northe quarter theste quarter weste quarter sowthe quarter and Kyngeswellayne."

On March 8th, 1580, owing to the great overcrowding of the poorer houses of Northampton, it was ordered that henceforth not more than one family shall inhabit one house, and that all those who within the last three years had come into the town and taken up their residence without having a house of their own, shall leave the town before the next feast of St John Baptist, upon pain of expulsion. Every landlord permitting a house to be occupied by more than one family was to be fined 6s 8d a quarter.

In the following year the constables of the different wards were ordered to see to the due observance of the above ordinance, and to give notice to the landlords of any overcrowding by poor folk who may have lately entered into the town.

In 1600 it was decided that no one should convert any dwelling house or other building into diverse habitations or dwellings for several families, except such separate habitations as were fit to be assessed for royal subsidies at 20s. a year, under a penalty of £5 per quarter. It was at the same time ordered that no one should receive any "inmate or undersitter" into his house.

In 1588 the assembly formally recited and revived the sanitary order of 1568, and ordered it to be strictly enforced, imposing also a fine of 10s. on all having muckheaps or dunghills anywhere on their premises who did not instantly remove them to one of the five appointed places. At the same assembly one William Wheeler was permitted to build a porch to his dwelling house projecting four feet into the street (leaving room for two carts to pass each other), on the condition that he scoured and kept clean from all filth the dyke lying over against his dwelling.

The old order of 1568 was again recited and revived in 1592. In 1599 a more stringent and extended order took its place, whereby all blocks of wood or piles of timber as well as all manner of filth and refuse lying at the doors or backside of any dwelling or in any orchard, garden or grounds within the town, were to be removed to one of the five appointed places (the fifth is termed "the place called the Breake in the Cow meadowe by the river") under penalty of the householder or tenant of such land being fined 10s. or suffering imprisonment. Any one by himself, or through his children or servants, depositing anything noisome or unseemly in any streets or lanes or in any channel or gutter in the town was to be fined a shilling.

By vote of the assembly in 1601 a town scavenger was first appointed. His salary was £13 6s. 8d., paid quarterly, and raised by a special assessment on the first distinctly sanitary rate. It was his duty to see to the

Clensing conveying and carrying away weeklie everye weeke of all the mucke, dounge, compesse, sweepinges, and offal ordinarilie arising had or made within the saide towne, to be swept and laide on heapes by everie householder his servauntes or assignes weeklie before everie their dores and taken and caryed to the common muckhille and places appoynted by the said skevinger, Provided allways and nevertheles that yt vs ment intended and ordered that the saide skevinger for the tyme

beinge, shall not be charged or chargeable with the conveying and carryinge awaye of any mucke, dounge, sweepinges, and offall out of anie other streete or streetes other than such streete or streetes that are to be paved by thacte of parliament in that case provided, nor with the carrying of anie mucke rannell or offall arising comung or being of by reason of anie buildinge or such like extra ordinarie occasion.

In 1603 the last cited order was confirmed and re-ordained by the assembly, the names of the streets and highways subject to the weekly visit of the scavenger being recited. They were "the highewayes from the gate of the saide towne in the North unto the bridge called St Thomas bridge in the south, and in the waye from the gate in the weste unto the gate in the east and also in the streate called Beareward streate St Giles streate* . . . . Kingswell streate St Maries streate and the waye called the Market place."

A later assembly of the same year raised the salary of the the town "skevinger or raker" to £16, and somewhat altered the list of roads for which he was to be responsible. The revised order describes them as follows :—" From the southe gate to the lane shoeting upon the farme in the north streete late Thomas Hopkyns deceased and from St Peters churchyarde in the west soe farre as anie howse ys in Abington streete within the East gate and all the wayes and streetes chargeable by Acte of Parliament to be paved except the lane called Kingswell lane and the lane called College lane."

This refers to the paving legislation for Northampton for the year 1431 fully described in the first volume of this work. It is obvious that the two great roads through Northampton, north and south, and east and west, were "highways," and that the town was in a special sense responsible for the cleaning and paving of these thoroughfares. The other streets, such as Bearward street, and Kingswell street, take us back to the earlier Anglo-Norman days, when the town was smaller, and these in their turn were the main highways.

We have noted two references to the old custom of the part paving of the streets by the respective householders in the earlier orders of assembly.

The assembly of April 19th, 1571, thus began their entries :—

Imprimis for the better maintenaunce and repairinge of the highe streetes in paving of the same accordinge to the ancient custome therefor made, It is at this

* Blank in original. This blank should read "Swynwell," and after St Maries streate should be inserted St. Martin's street See *Liber Custumarum*.

present assembly condicendid and agreed that the chamberlaines of Northampton for the time beinge shall everie yere once in a quarter yerely go throughe the streetes in every quarter of the towne, and shall serche and oversee the pavinge of the stretes that every man do pave his dore accordinge to the ancient custome and graunt made by the kinge and his progenitors; And the saide Chamberlains shall once in the quarter of the yere declare to the mayor for the time beinge the names of those persones yt do the lacke pavinge and who they be that do dwell and occupie the groundes. And for lacke of soche serche and answer to be made and given once in a Quarter to the mayor every soche chamberlaine shall pay and forfeit to the use of the chamber as treasure iij' iiij' The names of the streets to be duely pavid.

Imprimis the Checker with all the precinctes belongiuge to the same.

The olde draperie with all the precinctes belonginge to the same.

The bridge streete the south quarter without the south gate and all the precincte of the same.

The northe streetes the berward streete Saint Giles streete Habington streete and the gold streete and all the precinctes of the same streetes.

In 1617 occurs the following :—

Whereas the High way leading from the North gate to the hether end of St Seppulchres Churchyarde within this Corporation lyeth very undecent and unfitting for the passage of His Maties subjects and in the winter time is to the great annoyance and danger of his Maties said subjects that way comeing; for prevention and amendment whereof it is agreed and ordered that every person that hath or holdeth any land about St Sepulchres Churchyarde to pave and mend so much of the same way with pible as by lawe is appointed and the residue thereof to be paved and amended at the charge of the corporation in like manner before the said feast day of All Saintes.

Another entry, earlier in the reign of James, as to the sanitary condition of a certain thoroughfare is noteworthy. In 1609 a great complaint was made, and the corporation much blamed for the condition of a lane leading from the backside of the Lion (in the Drapery) down to the Horsemarket. It was described as filthy and noisome, which was particularly vexatious, as it was the usual passage to the castle for those attending the assizes and sessions of the judges and justices of the county. Order was made that the owners or occupiers of lands or tenements abutting on the lane were at their own cost to amend, make, and level the ground on both sides to the middle of the way in such manner as shall be prescribed by the chamberlains, under a penalty of forty shillings.

It was ordered in 1629 that the day for cleaning and sweeping the streets and grounds within the liberties should be Monday in every week, that every inhabitant shall on that day sweep and cleanse the shoots and ways against his house and grounds under pain of 12d

At the time of the siege (1642) special attention was paid to sanitary matters. The continual annoyance of very many muck hills in the streets was conceived to arise from the want of an official scavenger. Accordingly, at an assembly held on November 13th of that year, it was ordered that Nicholas Harman be appointed scavenger at a stipend of twenty marks per annum.

Two years later there was a like complaint of very many muck hills in the streets and lands within the walls, which were a great annoyance and source of danger of infection. The assembly ordered an assessment of £20 on all inhabitants to secure the immediate removal of all filth. In September, 1645, £40 was raised by a special cess on all of ability to pay a scavenger £10 a quarter to carry away all muck hills for a whole year.

In the perilous times of 1642 it was enacted that every householder taxed to the poor shall hang out, every dark winter evening a lanthorn with a candle alighted in it, from 5 o'clock till 9, for the lighting of passengers to and fro in the streets, excepting only such nights as the moon shineth. In order that householders might know the hour when they were to set up their lanthorns the bel man was ordered to toll the great bell of All Saints every dark evening at 5 o'clock. The penalty for neglect was 2d., which was to go to the bellman.

The assembly held on December 20th, 1688, made a like order which was to hold good until March 1st. The penalty in default was 6d. This order was confirmed in October, 1689, and again in 1694.

In May, 1646, the assembly directed its attention to defaulting individuals, particularly to the publicans. It was ordered that all muck hills, rubbish, dung, or other filth in the streets, or lanes, or open grounds was to be cleared away within a week by the innkeeper, alehouse keeper, or other person against whose houses, lands, or dwellings such muck hills, etc., lie under pain of 20s., and that henceforth any innkeeper, or alehouse keeper, or other person depositing any kind of filth or rubbish in the streets, etc., shall be subject to a like penalty.

In July of the same year a further order was made for the removal within a week, under a penalty of 20s., of any blocks lying upon any street which is to be paved by Act of Parliament that is any of the high streets. This order hardly seems to refer to loose pieces of timber or wood, but rather to heavy blocks placed

by shops and houses for the convenience of horsemen and women, or occasionally for trade purposes.

It was reported to the October assembly of this year that several had refused to pay the scavenger cess of £40, and order was made for distress to be levied on their goods.

In 1647 the day for each householder to clean and sweep the streets before his house and grounds and to remove all filth, rubbish, or rammel was changed from Monday to Friday, so that all should be clean before the chief market day.

An order of the assembly of 1652 provides that—

Whereas diverse Countrie people that bring corne to the markets to sell here doe refuse to pay the accustomed due to the Cryer and Sexton which is called Skavage due, It is ordered that there shalbe a prosecution in suite of some of them that Refuse to pay the same, as Councell shalbe advised at the Chamber charge.

The phrase "scavage due" is of interest in reminding us of the curious origin of the word scavenger. *Scavagium*, in its various Englished forms of shewage, scheauwing, and scavage, is deduced by the best philologists from the Anglo-Saxon word *Sceawe*, a show The shewage or scavage was originally a duty paid on the inspection of customable goods brought for sale within towns or cities, as is obvious from the section "De Scawanga" of the *Liber Albus* of the city of London. The scavengers, then, were originally the inspectors, to whom the goods were actually shown, and afterwards the inspection of the streets was committed to the same officers. The labourers, by whom the cleansing of the streets was actually done, were usually called, in earlier days, *rakers*, or rakers. This reminds us of "the man with the muck-rake," of Bunyan celebrity.

The assembly kept a fair look out upon street encroachments. In 1657 they ordered that the house of Mr. John Twigden (an alderman), then building, be made equal with Mrs. Bott's house, adjoining on the east, that the same come no further out towards the churchyard, that the new building do not overshadow Mrs. Bott's old house, and that it be built according to the old foundations every way.

Boone, the town pinner, received orders from the assembly on June 22nd, 1674, to pull down the wall built before Mr Lovell's door in Abington street, unless Mr. Lovell himself removed it within ten days.

In 1684 the assembly ordered the "Pent howse" (porch) and

other encroachments built upon the north-east wall of All Saints' churchyard to be forthwith pulled down at the chamber's charge as a common nuisance.

In 1725 Mr. Knightley Dawes obtained the sanction of the assembly to place iron pales in front of his house, on the west side of Bridge street, eleven inches further into the street than the old decayed wooden pales. He stated in his petition that the street was very wide in that part, so that after the eleven inches of ground had been taken in there would be room for the passage abreast of four coaches, carriages, or waggons. Five shillings was paid to the town to complete the bargain.

The day of the town cleansing was again changed in 1670, when it was enacted that every householder in the Drapery should clean the pavement before his house every Saturday night, and should cause the dirt to be carried away on the following Monday, and all other inhabitants of the town were to clean their pavements and carry away the dirt every Monday, under a pain of 12d.

In November, 1728, in accordance with the statute of 2nd George I., the justices of Northampton appointed John Woolston and Joseph Daniel scavengers for cleansing of the streets. They accepted the office, provided new carts for the work, and employed one Wright, who kept a team of horses, to go constantly about the streets with a cart and horses to remove the dirt. The town crier gave notice to the inhabitants when to expect the scavenger's cart. In about a year Wright continued to go about the streets with cart and horses, though hindered by frost and snow, and somewhat irregular when his horses were wanted elsewhere. At the close of a year he brought in a bill for £40 for work done at 12d. per day for each horse, and the like for each man. The providing carts, etc., brought up the expenses to about £60, and on December 16th, 1729, an assessment was made by the justices of 3d. in the pound to cover it. Very few persons, however, paid it; some who lived "in back lanes and out parts of the Town which are not pitched say that their dirt was never fetched away;" others occupying only lands or inclosures said that they had no dirt to be removed; others "out of stubbornness carryed away their own Dirt to their Dunghills or backsides and would not let the cart take it up; others asserted that orders of the assembly already provided for street cleansing, and that the act did not apply to Northampton," etc. Among the miscellaneous documents is an elaborate "case,"

with nine queries, prepared for counsel's opinion, as to the legality of the assessment and means of enforcing it, but the opinions have not been filled in.

In 1745 the assembly gave leave to the inhabitants and occupiers of houses at the bottom of the Market hill and in Mercers' row, "between the yards of which houses there is a long narrow lane called the Gutts," to fix a gate or door at each end of the lane at their own expense, to prevent persons depositing filth there in the night time; the gates to be locked in the evening so soon as the daylight is gone, and to remain shut till 6 a.m. in the summer, and 7 a.m. in the winter. This passage still bears the same euphonious name.

SECTION SEVEN.

The Town Trades.

The prevalent trades of the town—Trade guilds in Northampton—Amalgamated trades' constitution of 1574—The bakers—Different kinds of bread, and horse-bread—The butchers—Dispute as to the butchers' stalls—The chandlers—Fishmongers and fishing—the fullers—The glovers—The hosiers—The Ironmongers—The mercers—Millers and mills—The shoemakers—Shoes for the army in 1642—The tailors and woollen-drapers—Whittawers and tanners—Innholders, brewers, and maltsters—List of inns and alehouses—Benefactions for poor tradesmen.

[redacted]

THE TOWN TRADES.

IN the long and highly interesting regal inquisition of 1275, as to the town of Northampton, incidental mention is made of the tanners, glovers, weavers, fullers, dyers, drapers, and braziers. Only those who had some complaint to make, or were themselves offenders against public rights, are mentioned in this inquisition, so that it is doubtless accidental that shoemakers were not named.

The general trade of the town from the earliest known days seems to have been chiefly in connection with leather, so that tanners, whitawers, curriers, fellmongers, shoemakers, glovers, point-makers, parchment-makers, saddlers, and harness-makers, are constantly met with; but of one special leather industry we can find no trace in connection with Northampton, namely, the botelers, or makers of leather bottles or jacks Nevertheless, as leather buckets were made on a large scale in the town in Elizabethan days, it is possible that the same craftsmen may have turned out the bottles of leather.

Dyeing, as has been already remarked in the last section under Scarlet well, was another early and important industry of Northampton The town was also an important centre of the wool trade, as has been shown by its possession of a seal or stamp for the royal subsidy on wool. As early as the time of Edward I. Northampton possessed a wool hall, of which occasional mention has been found from that reign to the time of Elizabeth. This hall was at the market square end of Abington street, on the opposite side to St. George's hall.

It is no small temptation to branch off into a brief dissertation on the gradual growth of craft-guilds or trade societies, and the highly important bearing they had on municipal and even national life. But the temptation must be resisted; suffice it here to say that the ancient guild of our towns was a fraternity of the whole trade of all ranks and classes, employers and wage earners alike, compulsorily bound together against all outsiders who might try to infringe upon their privileges. The motives which thus drew men together into these craft-guilds were practically everywhere the same, namely, the desire to obtain monopoly and control of their particular trade in their own locality

A fairly healthy commonalty, such as Northampton for a long time was, did not suffer itself (as is remarked elsewhere in considering the freemen) to be overawed by great trade confraternities, but insisted throughout in regulating and restraining if not in initiating the bye-laws of the particular crafts. Towns such as Northampton soon saw the advantage of these associations from a public point of view, for the various fines they exacted from their members for many offences not recognised by statute law or general local bye-laws were made contributory to the public purse. Draft rules once entered on the town records became an admitted part of the municipal constitution, and the corporation of Northampton took good care that, as a rule, one half of the penalties went to the common purse of the town.

Doubtless, too, Northampton saw in them another advantage, namely, the securing the good and orderly behaviour of the greater part of the townsmen through the officials of the crafts, who were in no sense paid by the commonalty at large.

At the end of the fifteenth century not a few towns whose crafts had not already organised themselves, were almost compelled by the commonalty to do so. The action that the corporation of Northampton took in 1444 (*Liber Custumarum*) in forming the company of the tailors is just an example in point. The *Liber Custumarum* also proves that the bakers, butchers, fishmongers, shoemakers, glovers, fullers, tanners and whitawers, chandlers, weavers, drapers, etc., were all organised.

In connection with that part of the borough records which this volume touches, it may be remarked that Northampton maintained its faith in these trade organizations to such an extent as to grant, in some instances, new or revised constitutions so late as the reign of Charles I.

Before proceeding to comment on distinctive trades, it will be as well to give the regulations adopted by the town in 1574 for controlling no fewer than nine different trades or occupations, which would certainly seem at first sight to have but little in common. It is conjectured that at this date none of these trades had formal constitutions of their own, or else that their constitutions were in abeyance:—

Orders and constitutions made in the time of the maioralte of Henry Clarke maior of the towne of Northampton for and concerning the occupations of mercers, habberdashers, lynnendrapers, grocers, apothecaries, upholsters, salters, tryers of

honye and waxe within the saide towne of Northampton and confirmed at an assemblie holden by the saide maior his bretheren and the combargesses of the same towne with the xlviij^ti of the comminaltie of the same towne at the guildhall of the saide towne the thirtith day of August in the Sixtenth yeare of the raign of our Soveraign ladie Eazabeth by the grace of god of England Fraunce and Ireland queene defender of the Faith etc.

These orders may be this epitomised :—That on the twenty-first of October, or within six days after, the freemen of the aforesaid occupations or crafts should lawfully meet at St. Katharine's hall "without any confederacie conspiracie mutinee or tumulte"; that they should then elect from among their number a master and two wardens for the current year; that any one refusing to accept these offices should pay a fine of twenty shillings; that no foreigner nor unfranchised man should hereafter sell or offer for sale within the town any manner of wares or merchandise belonging to the above crafts, save during the fairs of St Hugh and St George, under a pain of twenty shillings; that no foreign chapman or unfranchised person shall sell within the town "anie drinckinge glasses or woollen cardes, under a pain of 6s. 8d"; that no persons whatsoever not being free of the said town should sell any kind of merchandise or wares belonging to the above trades within the towne to any foreigner or unfranchised person, under pain of forfeiture of the wares so bought and sold; that no freeman of these crafts should take any apprentice or covenanted servant to the trades under eight years' service, under a pain of five marks; that the master or dame of any such apprentice or servant should within the year enrol the apprenticeship in the town records, under a pain of ten shillings; that any apprentice or covenanted servant once bound and setting up for themselves before the years of service were ended should pay a fine of twenty shillings, that every apprentice or covenanted servant who had served the eight years should pay on his being made a freeman two shillings to the trade; that every person of these trades buying his freedom should pay 13s. 4d., that no freeman of these trades should teach anyone, save his apprentice or his covenanted servant, his crafte or trade under a pain of ten pounds; that no freeman having any shop or house "within the precincts of the draperie or checker of the saide towne called the Foure corners of the draperie and checker should set up any stall or standing within the market place, under pain of 10s."; that every freeman or freewoman having no shop or house within these precincts may set up a stall upon market days and the

fair days called "Ladie Daies," "and also two Seymsters with made waire of Seymsters trade habberdashe ware and grocerie"; that the wardens of these trades, by their beadle, shall twice in the yeare cause the freemen of their trades to assemble in St. Katharine's hall to hear their orders and constitutions read, under pain of 6s. 8d.; that they shall not meet oftener in the year without the mayor's licence, that the master and wardens have power to levy assessment or yearly tax on the freemen of their occupations of forty shillings, under a pain to the defaulter of ten shillings; that any one of the trades misusing or uttering evil language to the master or wardens should forfeit 20d., and for behaving in the same manner to their beadle should forfeit twelve pence; that these trades should make an annual payment of forty shillings to the corporation, under a pain of five marks

The trades now dealt with are exclusively those of which there is definite mention in the later records of Northampton. They are mentioned alphabetically, and not in accordance with supposed or real importance.

The Bakers.

On one of the first pages of the first book of the assembly is the following:—

Order for the Bakers tempore Georgii Coldwell Maioris Anno primo Marie Reginæ Forasmoche as the nomber of Bakers be encreasyd in the towne of Northton and that they do take upon them to fine aswell the contrey as the towne w^t all kynd of Bred by Reason whereoff they for the finyng of their Customers in the contrey do lye fore upon the market in the towne, And do bye every market day great nomber of grayne to their own great lucre and advantage and to the Raysyng of the price of grayne and to the great spoyle of fewell and enhawnsyng of the price thereof whiche is ageinst the Commonwelthe, and of few yeres past newlye invented by the saide Bakers · For Reformation whereoff yt ys agreed by the Mayor and his Brethern, that so long as whete shalbe above vi^s viii^d a quarter and under xii^s a quarter that no manner of Bakers of this towne shall Convey owt off the towne by craft or collusyon above the wayte of two horsse load upon payne of forfayting x^s at every tyme that any of them shall so offend to the use of the chamber of the towne And when that the quarter of wheat shalbe xii^s and above xii^s then no baker shall convey out of the towne above one horsse lode, nor mare lode, nor no mans loode, nor by eny other craft or collusyon upon payn to forfeit to the Chamber x^s for every time so offending And if the Mayor for the tyme beyng do not endeavour himselff to levye these same without favor then he shall forffeit and pay for his negligence to the chamber of the towne x^s for every time that he shall omyt the same after due practice thereof had and knowen

In the margin by the side of this order is written in a later hand *Vacat*, implying that the order was discharged. A marginal note also records that in 1570 "this order for the bakers was set att libertie to go and carry bred at all times with ij horsys."

It 1605 it was ordered

That all Bakers doe make bake utter and sell halfepennie white bread, peny white bread, halfe peny wheaton, peny wheaton bread, peny householde and twoe peny householde loaves, and none of greater assize, and that noe baker or other person doe make, bake, utter, and sell anie other kynde or sortes of bread, then symnel bread, wastell white wheaton householde, and horsebreads, and that everie baker and other person that doe or shall make bake utter and sell anie kyne or sortes of bread aforesaid, that they keep the assize thereof at all times and from time to time that shalbe given them by Mr. Mayor upon paine in that behalfe provided and imprisonment.

The baker's loaf was changed in weight, not in price, according to the price of grain. In earlier days than this, the assize of bread only recognised three kinds, namely: Wastel, or white, well-baked bread; coket, or seconds; and simnel, or twice baked bread, used for the most part only in Lent. Horsebread was the common food for stall-fed horses at this period. It was baked in very large loaves, and differed materially in its composition, usually consisting of different proportions of oats, rye, and pease.

The following entry occurs among the orders of 1617:—

Whereas the tradesmen and company of the bakers fremen exhibiting within this corporation have made great complainte to this assembly of many grievances and damages which doe daylie arise and growe to them by reason of the continuall Concourse of forrein bakers into this liberty upon markett daies and other daies with divers sorte of bread And foreasmuch as the saide tradesmen and company of bakers freemen and inhabitants aforesaide pay scott and lott within this corporation and are at continual charge and burthen about the necessary affaires of this Corporation, which the said forrein bakers are not nor cannot be compelled unto and yet take benefitt of the markett within this Corporation, and for that the uncertaine comeing and sale of bread of forrein bakers hathe bene an occasion of the not weighing of their bread: It is now therefore for the better wele of the Bakers freemen and inhabitants of the said town and liberty and to the intent that the bread of the forrein bakers may be openly weighed that shalbe brought to the marketts of this Corporation and a certaine time may be prefixed to them for that purpose ordered by the Mayor aldermen and assemblie now present that everie forrein or countrie baker that shall bring any sorte of bread to sell within this Corporations libertie upon any market day or faire day shall not putt the same his breades or any of them to sale but in the open markett and in the open market onelie not until the houre of Tenne of the clock in the morning upon paine of everie forrein or countrie baker comitting or doeing to the breach of this

ordinance herein established that the said forrein or countrie bakers bringing any sorte of bread to be sold as his or their breade or any of them then one of the clocke in the afternoone upon any markett day or faire day and at one of the clock in the afternoone of everie faire day and market day everie one of the said Countrie bakers to be gone homewards with his breads that he shall not have sold upon like paine of forfeiture of x^s to be forfeited to the corporation upon everie breach of this order also in everie respecte All the said forfeitures to be levied by distres of everie offenders goods by warrant from the mayor of this corporation directed to any officer which he shall appoint under the sealle of his office

The Butchers.

The constitutions and orders regulating the company of butchers of Northampton were renewed and revised at an assembly held on December 10th, 1558. The following is an epitome of the interesting provisions then promulgated:—

That on Martinmas day or the Tuesday next after, the occupiers of this trade shall yearly assemble at St. Katharine's hall, and elect two of their number as masters, and two as wardens to rule and keep the members in good order and to amend all manner of misbehaviour, defaults, abuses, and deceits, and that any one thus elected and refusing to act shall forfeit 20s. to the chamber.

That the master and wardens have full power to levy fines, and shall retain the same until Martinmas, when they shall hand over the sum of the fines of the year to their successors, under pain of 40s.

That the wardens shall twice or oftener in the year view and oversee the company of butchers for any misdemeanour in their occupation, and if there be any default shall fine the offender (with the consent of the master) at their discretion 6s. 8d.

That all foreigners or strangers that may hereafter be made free of the town, and desire to set up the trade of a butcher, shall pay £10 to the town and not under.

That if any apprentice set up as a butcher and has not served the full number of seven years, he shall be dismissed and sell no more on commandment of the master and wardens under pain of £6.

That every apprentice who has served his full time shall on his setting up pay to the company 10s. in addition to duties paid to the mayor at the time of his freedom.

That every freeman's child of the occupation born in the time of his father's freedom shall pay at the time of setting up 20d. to the company and 20d. to the mayor

That any master taking an apprentice or covenanted servant shall enrol them on the town books, to the intent to avoid all sinister dealing or collusion, under pain of 10s.

That any freeman of the occupation teaching the trade to any one save apprentice or servant bound for at least seven years shall forfeit £3, whereof 20s. is assigned to the mayor, 20s. to the chamber, and 20s. to the occupation.

That if any man not a freeman marry any woman of the occupation, and desire his freedom, he shall pay 40s at the time of his marriage or of setting up open shop, viz.:—20s. to the mayor, and 20s. to the occupation in addition to freedom fees.

That it be lawful for the occupiers of this occupation (after licence from the mayor) to assemble at St. Katharine's hall, by order of the master and wardens, so often as they think good, for the purpose of conferring and talking upon matters affecting their occupation, but "using noe confederatie, conventicle, tumult, or anie other misdemeanors."

That one named the "Beedell" shall summon them to assemblies, and every one absent without accepted excuse shall be fined 6s. 8d.

That the occupation have authority to make such further orders for their own regulation as shall not be contrary to law, that such orders shall be set down in a book, and that they have power to fine defaulters 6s. 8d.

That any one abusing the master or wardens shall be fined 5s., or abusing the beadle 1s.

That any of the occupation sueing another at law, either on real or personal account, without first having leave of the master or wardens shall forfeit 20s.

That no butcher nor his servants shall dress any kind of meat within the precincts of the Butchers' row, under pain of 12d.

That no butcher within the town or in the county shall "kyll any morte beaste" nor any other meat infected of any disease, being warned by the master or wardens, under pain of 20s.

That none of the fellowship call his fellow knave in anger, nor speak any other unkind or slanderous words, under pain of 12d.

That no butcher of town or county shall carry any meat hawking to any inn, unless the good man of the house hath bought it, or he be bidden to bring the same there, under pain of 6s 8d.

That no man kill "noe pockyt sheepe, nor noe sowe that

goeth to Brymmyng," to the end of selling the same, under pain of 3s. 6d.

That no man kill any boar pig to lay upon the stalls instead of pork, under pain of 12d.

That no butcher of the town or county shall lay forth to sell any manner of flesh that is not man's meat, after the wardens have condemned it, under pain of 3s. 4d.

That none of the occupation, their wives, or servants, shall call any person or persons that are buying meat at any other stall until they be parted from the said stall, under pain of 12d.

That none of the occupation, their wives, or servants, shall sell any manner of flesh in their stalls or shops on the Sabbath Days (save on such days as have been used and accustomed in the time of harvests), under pain of 3s. 4d.

That none of the occupation shall have any man's servant without his master's good will, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That any one of the occupation employing or hiring journeyman of the occupation who has purloined his master's goods, to the value of 4d. or more shall be fined 20s.

That no one of the fellowship shall take any house or shop wherein any of his neighbours that is of the occupation dwelleth, unless he first know that he is willing to depart, under pain of 3s. 4d.

That any master or servant of the occupation running away out of the town with any other person's goods, money, or meat, of the same occupation, and the same be proved, that such offender shall never again sell meat within the town, under pain of 40s.

That any foreigner or stranger coming to the town to sell flesh or meat, pay on the third day after his coming 13s. 4d., to the town, and on refusal that all the flesh or meat be forfeited.

That no foreigner or person not free of this occupation sell any meat within the town save on the Saturday, and on the two fairs of Saint George and Saint Hugh, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That none of the occupation nor their servants shall go or ride into the country to bring home any kind of ware on the Sabbath, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That no innkeeper of the town shall kill at any time in his house to serve their guests any beef, mutton, veal, or lamb, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That no one shall kill any pork after May 1st until St. Dennis' day, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That no one shall kill any ewe's flesh to sell after December 8th, being the Lady day before Christmas, till Easter Day, under pain of 3s. 4d.

That no one shall buy any portable ware of any foreigner to be killed within the town, under pain of 6s. 8d

That no one shall set any other man's wife or servant of the same occupation to sell his meat in shop or stall, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That no butcher's wife keeping any stall or shop in Butchers' row "shall fall out with anie other bocher's wyfe nor use nor speake anie evill or slaunderous wordes of deffamation or otherwyse revaile or revile one another uppon payne that everye woman therein first beginning the quarrell the husbande of the wife to forfeite for every tyme that his wyfe shall therein offende being lawfully proved who was the begynner thereof three shillings and fourepence."

In 1561 it was ordered that no butcher's wife should come into Butcher's row to sell any meat save on market and fair days, under pain of 6s. 8d.; "provided it shalbe lawfull for every man's wife to come to oversee ther servants that they do ther duties, and to take the mony off the fleshe so solde by ther servant."

The following order was made on March 12th, 1568:—

"It is condicendide and agreed that no straunge botcher shall stonde longer in the market called the Kytstalles* then three of the Clocke in the winter and fowre of the clocke in somer accordinge to the olde Order." In the following October this order as to foreign butchers was recited with the addition "that the said butchers shall stande and sell their meat or fleashe in the open market called the Kitstalles every market or faire daies at ther will and pleasures, paying yerely at the feast of St. Michell tharchangell for ther saide liberties and liberties and fredome to the use of the chamber xxxvj^{s} viij^{d}."

By an order of 1593 the duties levied on foreign butchers were still further increased, for it was then enjoined that, in addition to

*Kytstalles, or kitstalles, is a name derived from kit or cut, and signifies the stalls for joints or cut-up butcher's meat.

the rental to the corporation of 26s. 8d., each foreign butcher on first entering the town to sell meat should pay 6s 8d. to the chamber, and 6s. 8d. to the wardens of the butchers' company

At the meeting of the assembly on August 17th, 1637, a committee, consisting of the mayor elect and ten others, was appointed to consider the application of the company of butchers to have a new constitution according to ancient usage, inasmuch as the old one had fallen into abeyance. It was ordered that the draft constitution, which had been prepared for the butchers by council, should be submitted to the committee in order that inconvenient clauses might be struck out or amended. The committee was to report to the next assembly, but the order books contain no further allusion at this period to a butchers' constitution.

The great fire completely destroyed Butchers' row, or the Shambles. On October 5th, 1676, it was ordered "that the Butchers stalls upon the Markett hill be setled by the present Bayliffs and regulated as before the fire, and sett out by a certaine measure reduced to 7 foot and halfe."

In 1730 it was represented to the assembly that the right of the corporation to the soil or ground whereon the butchers set stalls or sheds for the weekly exposure of their meat for sale on market days, known by the name of Butchers' hill, was questioned, and even denied, by all or most of the freemen butchers. The assembly, therefore, formally stated that they had never granted to the butchers, whether freemen or foreigners, any legal right or title whatsoever to the soil; that these pretensions of the butchers were never set up, or even heard of, until very recently; and that such claims might prove very prejudicial to the corporation, as they have been lords of the manor by charter from time immemorial. The assembly further ordered that the town clerk should in their name make an entry upon such soil or ground as the butchers claim, and discharge the person or persons pretending a right thereto from erecting any stall or shed in the future at their peril; that if the person or persons so discharged should presume to erect a stall that action should be forthwith brought against the offender, in order to assert the rights of the corporation; and if any butcher whose stall should be thrown down should be the first to bring an action, that then the corporation would strenuously defend it, so that the issue should be

settled, whether it was the fortune of the corporation to be plaintiff or defendant.

The next entry relative to this dispute occurs under date October 7th, 1731, when it was ordered that it be left to the mayor to call an assembly in the following month "to receive petitions from the butchers for leases of the stall grounds to which they claim or pretend a title, and have the same read if any such shall be entered or presented, before any fresh suit be commenced against the butchers, and that publick notice in the mean time be given to all the butchers of the day when the assembly will be held."

On November 11th, 1731, the petition of John Law, butcher, and of the widow of John Stanyan, for life leases of their respective stall grounds on the Market hill, were read, and it was ordered that the corporation seal to such leases be respited until the matter in dispute between the corporation and the butchers be decided, and that John Law (against whom the corporation lately obtained judgment in an action for trespass) be permitted to stand on the market day with a stall without any interruption and without paying any rent or acknowledgment until further orders.

The same assembly ordered the town clerk to make an entry upon the stall ground occupied by Thomas Cooper, Thomas Gooding, and Henry Stanyan, all freemen butchers.

The corporation evidently won the day, for in 1735 we find them making an order with regard to the quarterly payments and other profits arising from the butchers' stalls on the Market hill at fairs and markets. In 1739 a life lease was granted of stall ground to Richard Lucas, butcher, of Creaton, measuring 8ft by 6ft., for use on market and fair days, on payment to the corporation of a yearly rental of 42s. The lessee was to provide his own stallage and stall gear, and to set up, take down, and carry away the same, the corporation covenanting to keep the ground in proper repair.

The assembly, on December 15th, 1746, passed certain orders against Richard Easton and Daniel Saunders, butchers ("known and inveterate enemies of this corporation, and who acted as such in the course of the several trials which this corporation have lately had for the recovery and establishment of their rights to the piece of ground known as Butchers' Hill or Butchers Row"), serving them with notices to quit the shops that they respectively held under the corporation.

A thin folio contains "the accompts of the Collector of the Rents and Profits arising from the Butchers Stalls erected weekly on the Market Hill in the Town of Northampton in a certain place there called the Butchers Hill or Butchers Row beginning at Michus 1748."

For the year 1748-9 the receipts were £34 18s. There were thirty-nine butchers' stalls on the east side, three at the top of the stalls, and forty-two on the west side. There was no charge to the freemen butchers, of whom there were thirty-three. In 1766-7 the payments for the stalls varied from 4s. 4d. to as much as £2, dependent, we suppose, on their situation and size. In 1832-3 the corporation returned £90 as the year's profits from the butchers' stall ground and the general stallage of the market.

The Chandlers.

There was a guild of wax chandlers in Northampton, but we find no reference to it in the later records. There are two entries of some interest with regard to tallow candles.

In 1574 it was agreed that no man shall buy any tallow of any butcher, either of the town or county, but that he himself shall make and convert the same tallow into candles, upon pain of 20s., shoemakers only excepted. Half of the fine was to go to the informer, and half to the chamber. The reason for this order was the then strongly prevalent notion that every trade should exclusively confine itself to its own business. The boiling down of fat into tallow was work for the tallow chandler or the ordinary householder, and not for the butcher.

In 1575 the assembly ordered that the chandlers should sell their candles for threepence a pound, and the butchers to sell their tallow for two shillings and twopence a stone

Fishmongers and Fishing.

It was ordered in 1585 that every fishmonger or other person dwelling near to the fish stalls should make clean the pavement before their stalls and doors every Saturday night, and at the same time carry away all refuse, under pain of one shilling, fourpence of which was to go to the informer, the remainder to the chamber. A like penalty was imposed on all fishmongers who neglected to carry in their stalls on Saturday night. The fish stalls were away from the rest of the market, on the site of the present Fish street

The corporation did their best to preserve and make profit out of the fishing in the town waters.

In 1555 it was determined that no freemen or others cast nets into the town waters, unless they farm the said waters, under pain of 3s. 4d.

One Style, of Kingsthorpe, had the honour of an order of the assembly all to himself, in 1555, when it was enacted that he was to be "expulsed off the town water upon payne of xl[d] every time he be taken to the Chamber." At the same time a penalty of 3s. 4d., to be levied by the chamberlain by distress, was imposed upon anyone casting dead dogs or other carrion into the town waters.

It was enacted in 1605 that no man fish in the water within the franchise save such as do farm the water; and those that do farm the water are not to use any kind of net "except the mesh be as wyde as a groat in the breaste for safegard of the younge frie and small fishes, and as broade as a twoepence in the pocket, under pain of forfeiture of the net and imprisoment at the mayor's discretion"

William Hopkins was elected gamekeeper for the manor of Northampton and for Gobion's manor by the assembly, on May 28th, 1866, and the common seal was affixed to the appointment. William Hopkins was requested to appoint two proper assistants, not to kill game, but to assist him in detecting trespassers, and to particularly attend to the preservation of fish in the river.

It was at the same time resolved that the mayor, justices, and bailiffs for the time being be a committee to adopt measures for the discovery and punishment of trespassers and poachers, such as co-operating with the lords of the manor on the opposite side of the river, and advertising and paying rewards for the detection of those infringing on the manorial rights and fisheries of the corporation. The river was only to be dragged for taking fish at such times as the committee thought proper; no net was to be cast into the river at any other time; and no other fishing (save angling) was to be permitted to any person whatsoever, not even to a member of the corporation.

This order about not fishing was, however, soon repealed, so far as the corporation was concerned. The assembly of August 27th, 1807, "Ordered that every Member of this House have full and free liberty to Fish with Nets in the River Nine at Discretion,

and that no member or members be permitted to give leave to any other person to fish (except with angle), nor to employ any person or persons not being Members to assist in taking Fish."

Mr. John Shaw was appointed gamekeeper in 1822 for the corporation manors of Northampton and Gobion.

THE FULLERS.

The assembly in 1585 granted a new constitution to the fullers and sheremen, at their own humble request, for the better ordering of the master and householders of that occupation, and for the due, diligent, and lawful using of their fellow townsmen, and neighbours in the country, who had woollen cloth to be wrought. The following are the principal provisions :—

That no fullers or shereman carry out of the town or fetch into it any manner of work upon the Sabbath Day, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That any one refusing the office of warden of the company pay 10s.

That anyone not answering to the summons of the warden sent by the proper officer pay 6s. 8d.

That if anyone of the company work any cloths to proof, and do not send for the wardens to search and view the same before it be delivered to the ironer, he be fined 6s. 8d.

That no stranger, not being free among the fullers and sheremen of the town, take any work to do within the town, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That no freeman of the town of any degree put out any cloth to be wrought in the country or out of the town, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That if any one of the company hire any man's journeyman without the consent of his master, he be fined 6s. 8d.

That if any one of the company behave himself disorderly in words or deeds at any assembly called by the wardens he be fined 6s. 8d.

That if any man of the country desire to be received into the town and to be free of this company (without having served his apprenticeship or being free born of the town) he shall at his entrance make to the whole company of fullers and sheremen a dinner at his own cost, and pay the company 13s. 4d.

That any one being free born, or having served his apprenticeship with any freeman of the company, shall at his own entrance provide a sufficient dinner and pay 6s. 8d.

That if any one of the company of fullers and sheremen do misbehave contrary to law by picking, stealing, or filching men's goods wrongfully, or do rob any "teyntors or fulling mylles," the same being attainted by the law, he shall be expelled out of the town from working any more therein.

That no fuller nor shereman shall work with no other manner of stuffes than is appointed by the statute, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That on the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, all fullers and sheremen shall meet in the church of All Saints to elect two wardens, under pain of 6s. 8d.

That all fines be divided between the mayor and the company.

THE GLOVERS.

It was ordered in 1556 that—

No glover washe noe skynes in the hyghe Ryver nor without the west brydge nor drye any woll upon the Grasse in the Fote medowe, but shall washe ther Skynnes in the pyt under the brydge next unto Dalington upon payne of xl^{d}, nor shall hange no Skynnes upon the bridge upon the lyke payne.

At an assembly held on April 4th, 1594, it was recited that the glovers had lately been discharged from this constitution, and leave had been given to foreigners to come in to buy and sell, but that—

Yt ys nowe agreed that the said glovers shall have their Constitution wholye ageyne and Forreyners to be put oute so as they paye to the Chamber iij^{li} in hande, parcell of Arrerayes of Syxe poundes and twentie shillinges a yere to the Chamber for the Yerely Rente of the same Constitution

In 1629 it was agreed that—

Noe glover inhabiting in this liberte shall at anie tyme hereafter shall hang or lay by himselfe or his serrauntes anie sheep skins or leather upon St. Thomas Well hedge or upon anie part of the towne commons, upon pain of every glover offending herein in contempt of this present order to forfeit and pay vi^{s} viii^{d} to thuse of the Corporation for everie severall tyme he shall soe offend.

THE HOSIERS.

It is obvious from the following extract from the order book of October 31st, 1608, that the hosiers of Northampton were at that time an important body of men.

It ys agreed and ordered That whereas there was a petition to the King's most excellent majestie in his highnes with his noble Quene their progresse through this Corporation, of which said petition as yet there is no answere or Reference: That nowe the same petition shalbe thoroughlie folowed for answere or reference at the costes and danger of the Corporation, And that Mr. Henry Chadwell, one of the

Chamberlains of the said towne shall fourthwith travail and prosecute in this behalfe untill answere or Reference shalbe obteyned, And whereas the Lord Mayor of the Citie of London and other his Ma^tie^s officers there doe require a certaine kinde of tolage of the hosyars of this Corporation, who weekhe doe make merchandise with their hose, in neare or aboute the said Citie, from which tolage and everie other suche kinde of exaction whatsoever, the freemen and burgesses of this Corporation, by diverse grauntes and priviledges are to be freed, It is likewise ordered that the saide Mr. Chadwicke shall likewise at the charges of the Corporation deale as he shalbe advised, for the mayntenance of suche our privileges in this behalfe without delaye.

The Ironmongers.

At the assembly held June 12th, 1562, it was considered that the ironmongers' constitution was "not mete for a Common weale," and it was therefore discharged and set at naught.

Notwithstanding this condemnation, the constitution of the ironmongers lingered on for another fifteen years.

In 1577 it was agreed that—

Whereas the Ironmongers and others of this Companie within the Corporation have for certaine yeares last past made defaulte in payment of their stipende annuitie or sume of money due to be payed to thuse of the towne chamber by and for their Constitution and orders, That yf they shall not before the first day of Marche paye to Mr. Mayor to thuse of the towne chamber suche sume of money as is by them oweing That then their said Constitution and all and everte article therein conteyned shalbe clerelie frustrate voyde and of none effect even as thoughe the same had never bene had nor made.

The Mercers.

An Elizabethan constitution, made in the mayoralty of Henry Clarke (1573-4), for the mercers and haberdashers, in conjunction with six other trades, has already been recited at some length at the beginning of this section.

A few months later, namely on August 30th, 1574, it was agreed that the constitution of the mercers and haberdashers should be accepted, engrossed, and sealed, and the fines thereof were to be divided—half to the chamber, and half to the occupation. It would thus appear that the mercers and haberdashers were then separated from the rather curious amalgam of federated trades.

Their constitution was formally renewed and confirmed in 1588.

Millers and Mills.

It was resolved in 1586 that no person of the trade or occupation of a miller should be made free of the town unless he pay 40s.,

and if he had some other occupation or trade, in addition to that of a miller, that then he should pay the customary £10.

In 1617 the freemen who owned mills within the liberties complained to the corporation that diverse foreign and country millers and their loaders were intruding into the town and carrying the corn of the inhabitants to other mills. The assembly thereupon ordered that no miller nor loader should hereafter thus intrude, under a penalty of 10s. A saving clause, to check imposition, was, however, added: "Provided that the inhabitants may be as well served at freemen's mills as they may be at any other mills."

In 1656 the assembly procured timber for the repair of Marvells' mills, and ordered that the meadows belonging to the mills should be planted with willows. The two chamberlains and four other members of the corporation were at the same time appointed trustees for the "improvement and advantage of the said Mills, meadowes, and grounds to them committed." The trustees shortly afterwards leased the Holme and Foot Meadows belonging to the mills to Thomas Peach, for five years, at a rent of £24.

At a later date, in the same year, the trustees for Marvells' watermills were ordered by the assembly to erect a windmill for the use of the town, and to plant the same in the most convenient place. In the following year Joseph Emerton was ordered to perfect the windmill with sails and other implements that it lacked, and also to make good the foundations to the satisfaction of the mayor and aldermen. A sum of £8 was voted to defray these expenses.

On February 29th, 1659, the assembly ordered "that Mr. Woollaston shall receive out the chamber the sume of Five pounds for the removeinge and Cappinge of the Windmill belonginge to the Towne."

In May, 1660, the chamberlain was ordered to take into his custody "The Nett and the Coggs and Rounds in the possession of Curtis, that did lately belong to Marvells' mills."

In the following August the mayor and five others were appointed as a committee to inquire what money was in arrear and justly due to Joseph and William Emerton, upon their petition concerning the windmill lately set up by them for the town's use.

It was ordered in October, 1657, that William and John Selby, the persons entrusted with the receipts of Marvells' mills, do give an account thereof at the next assembly, and that John Twigden and Joseph Hensman be appointed collectors for the next year, and

pay the money and arrears to the master of St. Thomas hospital as part of the Langham money; and if there was necessity to buy a mill horse, then the chamber is to lay down the money and to be re-imbursed out of the mill profits.

In October, of the same year, a lease was granted Mr. John Frend of his house of Marvell mills, together with the windmill, at a yearly rental of £45, for seven years.

In March, 1667, the assembly consented to Mr. Rainesford's desire to have "the Libertie of the Water runninge from his Clack Mill at any time yearely from yeare to yeare for him and heires for ever in the monethes of February March and Aprill for the Wateringe of his groundes there adjacent And onely Twodayes in each monethe of the monethes of May June and July for Twelve hours at one time and to be debarred from any further usage thereof to any purpose at any other time."

In order to find money for an expensive lawsuit in which they were engaged, the corporation, in September, 1671, obtained a mortgage of £400 on Marvells' mills.

The following entry occurs in the orders of assembly for November 22nd, 1671:

Nicholas Day the Miller of Marvells Mills being in arrears of Rent for the Mills and making it knowne to this howse that he hath sustained loss for want of the Wyndemill and Dallington Watercourse the whole matter is referred to Mr. Thomas Atterbury and Mr. Edward Kingston for the towne and the Miller to choose two persons of this howse and they to report their Arbitration the next assembly.

The result of this enquiry was that the town paid the late miller the sum of £22 for his millstones and other materials left by him

In 1672 a lease for seven years was granted to Thomas Dent, miller, of the Marvell mills and the windmill, at a yearly rent of £38. At the same time it was ordered that the difference between Anthony Buckingham, miller, and the corporation concerning the windmill and its repair be referred to Mr. Recorder Lovell.

The chamberlain's accounts for 1680 show that the sails of the town windmill were then recovered, and other repairs effected

	£.	s.	d.
P^a Mr Agutter for cloth for ye Windmill 40 Ells at 8^d the Ell	1	6	8
Halfe a pd of thredd and 1d needles	0	1	3
P^d the millrights for work, timber, and sawing, For bolts, plates, and beere	2	13	0

It is incidentally mentioned in 1685 that the corporation mills,

which had given all this trouble and caused so much expense for fifty years, had been sold.

The Shoemakers.

At an assembly held in the Guildhall on January 30th, 1551-2 (the earliest of which the minutes are extant) it was ordered:—

That every shoemaker that ys disposed to set upe Shoppe within this town and hathe not ben prentys wtyn the same shall paye at his Setting upe xxx^{s}, that is to saye xiij^{s} iiij^{d} to the mayour for the tyme beinge, xiij^{s} iiij^{d} to the chamber of the town, and iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the occupation.

That every shomaker yt hathe ben or shalbe prentys within this town that ys disposed to set upe Shope and to occupye as M^{r} shall pay xvj^{s} viij^{d}, yt ys to say x^{s} to the mayour for the tyme beinge for his fraunches and Settinge upe, iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the chamber, iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the occupation.

That every shomaker that is disposed to sett upe Shope being born within thys town shall pay for his fraunchys and Setting upe to the mayor for the tyme being xx^{d} and to the occupation xx^{d}.

Iff any shomaker within the towne that is M^{r} and doethe occupye as M^{r} that dothe set a other mans servant a worke being off the same occupation that hathe wrought a fortnyght w^{t} any one off them except he be lawfullye partyd from his seyde master and w^{t} his good wyll, that if any do offend in the same to pay vj^{s} viij^{d} for every tyme, half to the mayour and half to the occupation

Further if any jorneyman of the same occupation be detectyd off any untruthe and thereof due proofe made that then the wardens of the same occupation for the tyme beinge shall give warninge unto yt M^{r} with whome the seyde offender doethe worke that he shall immedyatlye put him furthe off servyce and that he be not set a worke by any man of the same occupation withyn this town upon pain of every tyme so offendinge to pay vj^{s} viij^{d} that is to say iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the mayour and iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the occupation.

Ffyrst no shomaker withyn this town at any tyme set forthe shall in the market place or before his shope to showe and sell any shoes or botes upon payn to iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the mayour and iiij^{d} to the occupation. And that no shomaker being not a fraunchized man take upon them to shewe or sell any botes or shooes within the liberties off this towne upon payn to forfiet the same half to the mayour and half to the occupation.

Iff any jorneyman of the same occupation yt doethe come to thys towne and workethe w^{t} a M^{r} of the same craft by the space off a fortnight or longer, and so departeth out of the town and within a quarter of a yere dothe Retorne againe, the Seyde Jorneyman shall go to the same man that he wrought withall at his departure owt off the town and after him worke. And if the saide M^{r} will not then set him a worke, the seide Jorneyman then to be at his liberte to worke with whom he yst, And if eny master of the same craft do Sett him a work contrarie to this order he to forffett for every time so offending vj^{s} viij^{d} half to the mayour and halff to the occupation

That all the shomakers withyn this towe yt dothe set upe and occupye as masters shall assemble them selves together by the concent of the mayour for the tyme beinge

yerlye upon the xxvth daye off October and then chuse ij discret men off ther occupation to vewe and serche all manner off hides being barkyd and solde within any place off this town for thintent to knowe whether they be lawfully wrought or no, and that no man put noye on sale before they be serchyd and sealyd upon payne of forfayture of all soche hydes so put to sale halff to the mayor halff to the occupation, and then being assemblyd shall yerelye chuse ij discret men off ther occupation to be wardens to see good Rule and order kept in ther occupation for the yere followinge, and they and the olde wardens and Serchers shall present the wardens and serchers the next Court daye after the election before the mayour for the time being in the Guyhall and ther to take ther other upon payne to paye as well the new serchers and wardens as the old that do make default vj^{s} viij^{d}, half to the mayor, etc.

That the seide wardens shall yerlye collect and Gather all fynes and amerciamenta contayned in this ordinance and yeld a trewe and clere Acompte unto the Mayor and Chamberlaines for the tyme beinge upon the day called the Conversyon off Saynt Paull upon payne for every soche of the seide Wardens to pale x^{s}, half to ye mayor, and halfe ut supra.

Further if any of the seide occupation be it M^{r} or Jornyman do Resist or wilfully stond in any Contention wite the wardens of the occupation contrary, as master to paye for every tyme offendinge vj^{s} viiij^{d} ut supra, and every Jornyman xij^{d} ut supra.

In Witness whereoff as well the comon Seale as the Seale of Office of the mayoraltye of the town of North'ton to this present ys put the daie and yere above writon.

Saxby, cōis Clicus ibm.

In 1555 the company of shoemakers entrusted their funds to the keeping of the town chamberlain.

M^{d} That on the Conversion of Seynt Paule Robert Horsley and William Saunders Masters of the Shomakers in the yere of o^{r} lord god mv^{c}liij brought into Guyldhall to William Taylor mayor and John Brightman Chamberlayne as treasure to the town Forr there funds of the holle corporation of corviers (cordwainers) craft the Some of iij^{li} iij^{s} ij^{d} W^{ch} was delyvered to Thomas Grene Chamberlayne at the makinge of Mr Taylor's Acompte the vth daie of December A^{no} 1555

In 1642 the shoemakers of Northampton received a large order for shoes for the soldiers setting forth to Ireland. The Domestic State Papers show that the account, after nine years, still remained unpaid. On April 16th, 1651, Thomas Pendleton, and twelve other shoemakers of Northampton, petitioned the committee for compounding for an order on the Ladyday rents of the estate of William Band, of Walgrave, a Popish recusant and delinquent, in discharge of their account for furnishing the treasurers-at-war for Ireland, in 1642, by special order of committee of parliament, with 4000 pairs of shoes and 600 pairs of boots for the soldiers. Owing to the dangerous times, they were forced to have a grant of convoy

of horse to secure the safe delivery of the goods in London, and they claimed to be £1000 out of purse. The House of Commons, in 1648, authorised the Goldsmith hall committee to sell the estate and pay the petitioners. The county committee thereupon let the estate to the petitioners for £400 a year for three years, ended last Michaelmas, but £200 7s. 6d. was still due to them.

At an assembly held on January 18th, 1655-6 "It was ordered and agreed that the shoemakers shall have A Constitution amongs themselves as other Tradesmen have, and as heretofore they commonly have had." This is the latest mention of "trade constitutions" in the town records.

Northampton again found shoes for our soldiers in Ireland, during the unhappy conflict of 1688-9. A letter to William from Dundalk, dated October 23rd, 1689, mentions that 4000 shoes had been distributed among the troops, which had been made at Northampton. "At first Lt. Gen. Douglas said they were the best and cheapest he ever met with, but now he does not like them, thuogh all the English colonels do."

The Tailors and Woollen Drapers.

The only reference we have found in the later records to the company or guild of the tailors, established by the corporation in 1444 (*Liber Custumarum*), is for the year 1588, when they are named in association with the woollen drapers. At the assembly held on June 28th, of that year, it was ordered that—

Whereas the companye of Taylors and woollen drapers have of long time had Constitutions and orders amongst them established, by consent of the whole bodye of the saide towne, as well for the expelling owte of Forrayners, as for the good governement of their saide companyes and the common weall of her Matie loving subjects Which their saide constitutions and orders being nowe frustrated and voyde, they have not onelie made their humble requeaste for the renewing of the same but also have tendred the same with other good orders concerning their saide trades in writing, to thende they maie be confirmed by consent of this assemblie; It is therefore for diverse good considerations condiscended ordered and agreed by consent, as ys aforesaide, that their saide constitutions and orders shalbe of force and so contynued as other constitutions within the same towne accordinge to the tenure forme and effect of the same.

The Whitawers and Tanners.

The following constitution for the company of the whitawers and tanners was enrolled in the town records in 1566.

Imprimis it is ordeyned everie yeare uppon the sondaie next after the daie of Sainte Luke the Evangeliste with the license of the Maior for the time being Then the saide Craft and Occupacons for to come and meet together And by the Consente of the whole Crafte they shall assemble themselves together And by the Consente of the whole Crafte shall mete at the hall of Saincte Katherines or elswhere within the same towne of Northampton And then and there shall nomynate and choose two wardens of the same occupation afforesaide For to rule and governe the said craftes and occupations the next yeare following And to redresse and remede all manner of decites and defaultes that maie be founde amonge the saide Craftes and occupations And yf there bee of the said two wardens that soe be chosen and will not stande to pay x^s^ withowte anie delaye The one halfe to the chamber and thother halfe to thoccupation And soe to take another in his or their stede And the saide two wardens to be sworne the court daie after the eleccon made And when the two wardens be charged and sworne yf any fynes or proffittes happen to come within the saide yeare Then they to receave yt and gather them into their handes, And to make a true accompte of all suche thinges and reckoninges uppon the sondaie nexte upon Saint Lukes daye to the newe wardens uppon payne of xx^s^ for the defaultes without remedie To saye x^s^ to the chamber of the towne and x^s^ to the same occupations And further it is enacted and agreed that the saide two wardens with the consent of the whole crafte shall cess and laye amonge themselves of the same crafte according to everie manne's habilitie to the use of the chamber of the towne the some of xx^s^ everie yeare once And the saide two wardens to paye the same to the mayor and the chamberlaynes for the time being to the use of the chamber within twelve daies next after the daie of the feast of Saint Luke the Evangelist next following uppon payne of . . .withowte remedie or delaye to the chamber of the towne Also it is ordeyned that yf anie of the saide crafte being residant within the towne be summoned to come before the saide wardens by a bedill appointed and doe not come when they are summoned he or they shall paye for everie tyme so doing xij^d^ to the same occupacion withowte remedie And further it is enacted and agreed that there shall noe straunger nor furryner come into this markett within the towne of Northampton to buye anie hyde or hydes bullocke skynne or caulfe skynne but that he or they shall bring in quantitie as muche lether redlie tanned into this markett to sell the same daye as he or they shall buye roughe hydes or skynnes the same daye in the same markett by the saide straunger or forryner And not to buye anie hydes or skynnes bullocke skynne or calfe skynne before the houre of xij of the clocke uppon payne of everie straunger or forryner soe doinge to paye vj^s^ viij^d^ Item that no forryner doe bespeake to anie butcher sor his hyde or hydes or anie other skynnes as is aforesaide before the saide houre of xij of the clocke uppon paine of everie straunger or forryner soe doing for everie hyde or skynne soe boughtt or bespoke before the saide houre appointed yf it be proved by two witnesses he or they to forfett vj^s^ viij^d^ thone halfe to the chamber and thother halfe to the companie of the taeners withowte remedie And further it is enacted and agreed that noe manner of person or persones buy neither hide bullock skynne nor calfe skynne nor noe kynde of neate lether withowte the precinctet of the highe crosse called the markett crosse and the pillarye on the market daye The Glovers of the towne and Butchers Rowe onelie excepted And that noe manner of person shall stande to looke or watch for anie

hyde or skynne or skynnes as aforesaide butt onelie in the saide place appointed before that ys to saye the highe crosse and the pillarye uppon payne of everie hyde or skynne soe watched for or boughte to forfett vj^s vii,^d thone halfe to the chamber and thother halfe to the saide occupation withowte remedie And furthermore yt is agreed that noe manner of person shall buy any Roughe hyde or hydes or skynnes in the heare and sell the same again in the heare untanned shall forfett for everie hyde or skynne soe bought and solde untanned x^s thone halfe to the chamber and thother halfe to aforesaide occupation And furthermore it is enacted and agreed that yf anie person or persons of this occupation using the arte of tannyng of lether on whittawing doe refuse or denye anie of their orders before rehearsed or will stubbernlie withstande the saide two wardens for leveing of anie fyne or fynes before expressed yf due purpose thereof be made he or they shall paye for everie tyme soe offending x^s thone halfe to the chamber and thother halfe to the saide occupations And further it is enacted and agreed that yf anie of the saide two wardens soe being appointed and elected doe neglecte their duetie in gatheringe upp their fynes yf anie happen or chaunce to be or doe omitt anie person for payeing his fyne or fynes yf due proofe thereof be made within their heare that everie such warden or wardens soe doeing to forfett for everie tyme so offending xx^s thone halfe to the chamber and thother halfe to the saide occupation And farthermore it is agreed and enacted that there shalbe noe forreyner or stranger of this occupation called the occupation of Tanners and Whittawers come to this town to sell anie manner of cloute lether cutt into small bendes or peeces but onelie at the two fairs as he assigned by the Charter of this towne In Witness of the premises the Common Seall of the towne of Northampton to this presente is putt date and yeares above written anno regne Elizabethe octavo.

On Tuesday in Easter week, 1582, the following town constitution was enacted for the governance of the whitawers :—

That two masters be yearly chosen to oversee that the hides and other ware set for sale be lawful and sufficient, and that if the master find any insufficient, the party offending shall forfeit the thing so set for sale.

That none of the craft shall obstinately disobey or rebuke the master under penalty of 3s 4d., with imprisonment until paid.

That no foreigner of the craft shall openly buy nor sell anything belonging to the craft in the town, save at the fairs of St. George and St. Hugh.

That no tanners shall cast any dead horse, mare, or gelding, or any hog, dog, or other such carrion on the streets, ways, ditches, or any ground of the town save in the Marehold, under penalty of 3s. 4d.

That the master shall yearly between March 6th and April 4th, bury the bones that have been cast in the Marehold, under penalty of 3s. 4d.

That any whitawer killing any horse, mare, or gelding, or other beast within the streets, lanes, or common ways of the town, or anywhere save in the Marehold, shall be fined 6s. 8d.

That the master shall pay yearly at the feast of St. Luke, to the mayor 6s 8d for this their constitution.

That all fines be divided between the chamber and the craft.

At an assembly held in June, of the same year, it was agreed "that the Whittawers shall remove their usuall standinges, and shall from thenceforth with their stalles stande (in) the Channell in the draperye as the glovers doe and begyn their stalles or standinges close to the glovers stalles or standinges Provided always that it shall and maye be lawfull to and for Henry Trott of the saide towne of Northampton whittawer to have occupye and use the shoppe which he now usethe being parcell of the tenement in the tenure of Richard Bentley."

At the same assembly it was agreed that (although a constitution had been granted to the whitawers for the expelling and keeping out of strangers on market days) William Smythe, James Stormer, and Henry Lacke were to be permitted for their lives to use the markets, and to have liberty to buy or sell there, on each of them paying to the chamber 20s This precedent of special exemption was followed by the assembly in 1596, in the cases of Robert Stormer, of Dallington, and William Grumbley, of Harleston.

In 1606 it was agreed and ordered by the assembly "That the Tanners of this Corporation upon paiement of the sume of fourtie shillings which they are in arrerayes shall have a newe constitution with suche orders as they shall think fitt for the better goverment of their companie and as their councell shall advise them to be agreable with the lawes of this land for and upon the olde Rent accustomablie paide for the same."

At the October assembly, 1669, it was stated that William Knight, a tanner, of Althorp, a foreigner and no freeman, had lately in open market bought on several Saturdays, several raw hides of foreign butchers, contrary to the orders, customs, and constitutions of the town of Northampton, and that these hides, being both foreign bought and foreign sold, were forfeited, seized, and sold by Mr. William Wallis and Mr. Edward Ivory, the bailiffs, according to ancient usage and custom. It was further stated that William Knight had commenced a suit at common law against the

bailiffs, and it was resolved by the assembly to support the bailiffs in resisting the action.

The cause came on for trial at the Northampton assizes in 1670, and the judge ordered the case to be referred. William Knight, however, became "sensible of his error," and instead of persevering in the action, petitioned the corporation to be admitted as a freeman. At an assembly held in September, 1671, William Knight made due submission, and promised to purchase the hides again of the bailiffs, whereupon it was ordered that he be admitted a freeman at such rates as the mayor and alderman shall determine.

In 1708 the tanners petitioned the assembly to stop George Morgan, of Slapton, and Joseph Toms, of Kings Sutton, country tanners, from buying great quantities of cow hides in open market, to the breach of the freedom of this town. The tanners stated they had gathered £10 towards the legal prosecution of the offenders, and asked the help and support of the assembly in prosecuting the case. The petition was granted.

Innholders, Brewers, and Maltsters.

This sub-heading has been kept to the last, as it does not technically refer to a trade of the same fashion as those that have been already considered. The special nature of the undertaking becomes obvious when it is recollected that there are not only hundreds of national statutes for its regulation, but that at the time when the local authorities had far more power than at present, the selling of beer and the regulation of inns was more prolific in producing ever-changing and fluctuating bye-laws than all other town trades put together. Northampton is no exception to this rule, and is a striking illustration of the summary suppression of public houses for the public good that took place from time to time.

The first point, however, that comes out from these town records with regard to licensing, has no reference to popular control, but, contrariwise, to the highly exceptional if not unique exercise of royal will in overriding all statute or local law.

On January 20th, 1557, Mr. James Balgey, the mayor, enrolled in the order book of the assembly, at the request of William Symcotes, of Huntingdon, innholder, a remarkable royal charter or letters patent It is a grant by Philip and Mary, addressed to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and other officers, to their

well beloved subject, William Symcotes, of Huntingdon innholder of a ten years' license—

At his pleasure in what Countie soever it be, to have use occupye and kepe a Taverne or Tavernes by himselff or his servantes to utter and sell by Retail or in Grosse any kynde of wine or wines at his most proffit comoditie and advantage to be spent or dronk in his mansion howse or howses or elsewhear in any place without any manner of let impediement losse forfeiture damage or penaltie to be hat demaunded or susteyned of him for the same The Act and Statute made in the Seventhe yere of the Reigne off oure late dearest brother Kinge Edwarde the sixt prohibiinge the havinge and sellinge of wines or any other thinge therein contenyed or any other act or law ordinance proclamation or Restraint by o' progenitors made or proclaymed to the contrarie notwithstandinge.

The patent is dated April 4th, 1555.

Further on, in the same book of orders, is a copy of like royal letters patent, though of a more extended character, granted just a year later by Philip and Mary. The license recites that "We of oure Graces especiall certaine knowledge and mere motion and for that we be credibly enformed that oure lovinge subjecte Henry Manley of Northampton vintner is licensed by the mayor of the saide towne to occupie and kepe a Taverne and to sell wyne by Retaile and hathe not any other way of lyvinge but by retailinge of wine," grant to the said Henry Manley for his life free permission to trade in wine by himself or his servants in any tavern or taverns or other places he pleases throughout England

It was enacted by the assembly in 1568 that "no Inholder nor vyntener nor none that kepithe any tiplinge house maytaine or kepe any Company in ther howses in the time of Common Prayer or Sermones upon the Sabothe day or any other festivall dates,' under a penalty of 12d. to the housekeeper, and 2d apiece to any of the company Any fines were to be divided into three parts, between the poor man's box, the chamber and the informer A traveller's exception clause follows this order —"Provided that it shallie lawfull for the Innholders and others to give intreteynement unto travelers that travaile by the way '

All ale brewers were ordered by the assembly, in 1575, to sell their ale for 2s 4d a dozen (gallons), and the tipler ' for 2s 8d a dozen by sealed measure. All that sold strong ale were to sell a quart for a penny, by sealed measure and all inholders to sell their ale and beer a quart for a penny, by sealed measure To insure the carrying out of this it was provided that every mar

that can and will present any defaultes shall have xijd for his Labor and the pot."

The orders for June 16th, 1570, recite that—

Whereas the greate bruars within the towne of Northton of late have fallen in decaie by reason of the greate multitude of other bruars within the same called petit bruars, typlinge howses, or alehowses, who neither regard assyze nor any other reasonable price nor goode order kept maintained in their howses by reason of their stronge drinke, but rather maintain drunckards and idle lycensious persons to the displeasure of almightie god and annoyance of the common wealthe, For Reformat on thereof it is ordayned concluded that no person or persones keepinge ale howse or typlinge howse within the towne of Northton shall sell any bere or ale within their howsys to any person or persones of their owne being at any time or times after the feast of S. James the Postle next ensuing, Provyded alwaies that it shall and may be lawful for the alehowse keper to brue ale or bere and to tunne owte and sell the same by the dozen or halfe dozen as the greate bruars dothe And that such price and prices upon paine of every one making defaulte to forfaite xx^s to the use of the towne chamber and further punishment at the discretion of the mayor

This order was, however, discharged on February 23rd, 1571.

The privy council issued general orders throughout England, in July, 1577, for full returns of the names of those who were licensed as keepers of taverns, inns, and alehouses both in town and country. The demand for these returns were addressed to the lieutenants of the respective counties, and the Domestic State Papers supply complete lists from many of the shires, including the boroughs. Northampton was, however, sufficiently independent to decline to make any returns save through her own chief magistrate The lieutenant of the county sent in his certificate on November 2nd, giving a total of 8 taverns, 30 inns, and 300 alehouses throughout the shire, "besides the Towne of Northampton wherewith we have not medled for that the maior of the same Town answereth that he by hymself will make certificate unto your honors of the true nomber thereof." Unfortunately, the mayor's return is not to be found either at the Public Record office or among the town records It seems, however, from other sources and comparisons that the probable number of inns and alehouses at this time in Northampton and its liberties was about eighty

The great brewers in the spring of 1578, petitioned for a constitution, and that the petty alehouses should not brew, but obtain supplies from their bigger brethren. The assembly thereupon consented to the great brewers' request for a constitution,

dutie and in obedions of yo' honors lres have suppressed to the nomber of eighteene alehowses within this libertie, which nomber wee fynde maye bee well spared in this corporacon and accordinge to the statute in that behalfe have bound some of thos from victuallinge which sithence our such suppression have caryed them selves obstinat, and alsoe have and doe our best and contynuall indevours to keepe the other suppressed in obedience to theire such suppression, and herewith have procured a generall moderacon of the strength of beare and ale of such Inkeepers and victualars as doe still contynewe which we have labored to doe not onlie by giving them expresse charge to doe soe, but also by imposing of fynes upon the offendars accordinge to his highnes laws and statutes of this Realme Of all which humbly craving your honorable good acceptance with our hartie prayers for yo' honors healthe and happinesses, we humblie take our leaves, And rest,

Your honors most humble to be comaunded,

Richard Woollaston, maior.

North' the 8 of March 1622.

Tho Cowper

Raphaell Humfrye

Although the reduction of the alehouses was brought about at the instigation of the privy council in 1622, two years later the town took strong action on its own initiative. If our estimate of eighty for all the licensed houses of 1577 is correct (and it probably errs on the side of understating rather than the contrary), it follows that the second reduction of the houses, after making allowance for their increase during fifty years, would considerably exceed the reduction of 1622; it would propably mean that at least twenty-five houses were then suppressed.

The following is a copy of the strongly worded order of assembly passed on October 14th, 1624:

Whereas notwithstanding many good lawes and statutes made against Alehowses the number of them within this libertie are excessive, it being a common practise that many inhabitants within this corporation having other commendable trades wherein they are trayned and brought up, doe leave their saide trades, and by meanes obtaine lycense of the Mayor and Justices of this Corporation to keep Alehowses by reason whereof the number of them are so greate that they are very burdensome and hurtfull to this Corporation, and thereby the horrible and loathsome sinne of drunckennes doeth daylie increase to the dishonour of God, the impoverishing of this towne and common wealthe, and to the great abuse of Godis creatures ordeyned for the necessary use of man, and thereby likewise the sinne of Whoredom and Idlenes are much crepte into this Corporation, and the ancient Innes within this libertie being anciently erected for the necessary use thereof and for the grace of the saide Corporation are much decayed, It is therefore for reformation of the saide number of Ale howses and of the saide abuses ordered and ordeyned by the Common Councell of this libertye that the Ale howses within this Corporation shalbe presently restrayned to the number hereafter specified and that there shall not be hereafter lycensed by the Mayor and justices of this Corporation above the

number of fortye and fyve in the whole towne. And that noe Mayor and Justices of peace within this libertie shall hereafter lyccense or permitt, and or suffer any Alehowse in any of the saide wardes above the saide number contrarie to the true meaninge of this ordinance. And that if any Mayor or Justices shall hereafter lyccense above the saide number, that then every sucho Mayor and Justice of peace doeing to the breach hereof, and shalbe thereof be presented and found faulty at any sessions of the peace leete or Courte daye within this libertie shall forfeite to the Mayor bailiffs and burgesses of this Corporation the sume of Fourtye Poundes, the same to be by the saide Corporation imployed the one moietie thereof to the use of the Chamber, and the other halfe thereof to such charitable uses as by the Common Councell of this Corporation shalbe thought fitt. And that the burgesses that heretofore hath bene Mayor or hereafter shalbe Mayor or any of the Bayliffes or Fortie Eight shall at any tyme hereafter move speake to or persuade the mayor, Justices for the time being of this libertie or any of them for the erectinge settinge up, lyccensinge or allowinge of any Alehowse above the nomber before lymited in this presente ordinance upon paine of everie one that hath bene Mayor or everie Burgess beinge or which shall hereafter be of the Common Councell doeinge to the contratie of this Ordinance, and shalbe presented and thereof found guilty as aforesaid to forfeit Fyve Poundes to the saide towne to the uses aforesaid. And yt is also ordered that it shalbe lawfull for the Chamberlaines of this Corporation by warrante under the Common Seale of this libertie to levye the saide severall penalties . . . by distresse . . . And it is further ordered that from henceforth noe inhabitants keepinge or that shall keepe Alehouses within this libertie shalbe chosen into the Company of the Fortie Eight of the Common Conncell of this towne, nor into anie office of Chamberlaine Bayliffe Constable Thirdborough or anie other office within the said Corporation But that all Alehouse keepers by vertue hereof shall from henceforth be utterly disabled from bearinge any office whatsoever within this libertie, And if any of the Fourtie Eight shall keepe Alehouse then he shall ipso facto uppon presentment thereof by the Constable of that warde to the Mayor be disabled to be any of the Fourtie Eight . . . And yt is finally ordered that noe alehouse keepers or victualler hereafter to be lyccensed within this libertie shall at any time hereafter erecte or sett up any Signe without the consent of the Mayor and Justices.

This very stringent attempt on the part of the assembly to fetter the action of the licensing authorities of the future is not a little remarkable.

At the next assembly, held on November 4th, 1624, the question of Sunday closing was discussed, with the result that the following orders were enacted :—That no taverner, innkeeper, alehousekeeper, or other victualler shall keep their doors open on Sabbath day during the times of divine service prayers or preachings, under a penalty of 3s 4d. ; and that none of the said taverners, etc., shall hereafter suffer their gates to stand open at any time of the Sabbath day until six o'clock in the evening, other than their wickets and their gates to let in guests horses, under a like penalty.

It was reported to the assembly on December 14th, 1644, that Thomas Holland, landlord of the George, was much intruding on the liberties of the town, inasmuch as he was not a freeman, and was using the trade of a vintner, and keeping a tavern for the retailing of wines without the corporation's consent, whereby he had incurred diverse penalties. Thomas Holland, however, made submission to the assembly, and he was permitted to continue his trade until March 25th, when he promised to pay £10 for the town's use.

In Hall's manuscript, under the year 1653, it is stated that the mayor for that year "supprest many Victualling Houses, and all Inns and Alehouses were compelled to sell their best Drink for a Quart a penny both within Doors and without; the Crier was sent twice round the Town in one Day to cry the same."

In 1676 the assembly ordered that no person for the future shall be permitted to sell ale, especially in the Chequer ward, unless they own such houses as are able to entertain horse and man with stables adjoining, suitable for the entertainment of travellers. The mayor and justices were to forfeit £5 each if they licensed houses not thus qualified.

In 1764, eighteenpence was paid "for Beer for the Serjeants on their going round to all the publick Houses and discharging Gameing."

The following is a list of all those inns and alehouses (and only those) that we have found in the sixteenth and seventeenth century leases, and other records of the town. In two or three cases we are unable to give the streets where they were situated. The letter "*a*" prefixed to a sign means that it was one of the twelve ancient inns of the assembly orders of 1585.—

a Angel (Bridge St.)
Bear (Bearward St.)
a Bell (Bridge St.)
Bishop Blaize (Market Square)
Black Boy (Woodhill)
Black Lion (By St. Peter's church)
Blue Boar (Market square)
Boot (College Lane)
a Bull (next door to the George)
Chequers (Market Square)
Cock (Abington St.)
Crane (South Bridge)
Cross Keys (North St.)
Crown (Woodhill)
a Dolphin (Gold St.)
Dragon (St. Mary St.)
Drums (Drum Lane)
Duck and Drake
Eagle and Child (St. Giles St.)
Elephant and Castle (Elephant Lane)
Falcon (Newland)
Fleece (Abington St.)
Flying Horse (Market Square)
Forge (St. Giles St.)
a George (George's Row)
Goat (Gold St.)

Golden Cross (St. Martin St.)
Golden Fleece (Bridge St.)
Golden Lion
Green Mount (St. Edmunds End)
Green Tree
Green Man (St. James End)
a Green Dragon (Bearward St)
Greyhound (Woolmonger St.)
Griffin (Gold St.)
Guy of Warwick (South Gate)
Half Moon (Between South Gate and Bridge)
Harp (Kingswell St)
a Hart or Hind) Market Square)
Hen and Chickens (Abington St.)
a Katharine Wheel (Gold St.)
Kings Head (Horsemarket)
Lamb and Flag (Kingswell St.)
Lion and Lamb (Bridge St.)
a Lion (Drapery)
Magpie (Between South Gate and Bridge)
Peacock (Market Square)
Quart Pot (Quart Pot Lane)
Ram (Sheepmarket)
Red Cow
Red Lion (Horsemarket)
Rose (Gold St.)
Rose and Crown (Market Square)
Salters Inn (Abington St.)
a Sallett or Helmet (Cow Lane)
Saracen's Head (Market Square)
Spread Eagle
Stags Head (Abington St)
Star (Abington St.)
Swan (Derngate)
a Swan (Drapery)
a Talbot (Market Square)
Tabard (Woolmonger St.)
Tabard (Cotton End)
Three Pigeons (St. Johns Lane)
Three Tuns (Market Square)
Trumpet (Horsemarket)
Unicorn
Wheat Sheaf (Bridge St.)
White Bear
White Horse (Marehold)
White Lion (Abington St)
Woolpack (Bridge St.)

Benefactions for Poor Tradesmen.

The great share that Northampton had and still has in the loans of the munificent Sir Thomas White, is described at some length in another section.

Two other intended helps of a like character, on a much smaller scale, for reduced tradesmen of Northampton are cited in the first order book of the assembly.

The following extract from the will of Edward Cluier, citizen and grocer of London, proved on July 11th, 1593, is copied into the order book.

Item I give and bequeathe the some of fourtie powndes more to be paide and delivered to the maior, ba liffs, and burgesses of the towne of Northampton wheare I was borne, within axe monthes next after my decessse, for the maintaining of poore Handy craftesmen in the said towne, that ys to saye Cordwainers, taylors, plomers, carpenters smithes, sadlers, bricklaiers, and weyvers that ys to saye the said sume of Fourtie powndes to be divided into eight equall partes of fyve powndes a peace, and to be sent and delivered unto eight poore housholders, handycraftesmen and of the occupations aforesaide, that ys to saye, to one suche poore man of everie the same occupations the sume of five powndes a peece for the time and space of two yeares upon their sufficient bondes, with sureties for the repaiement of

everie suche five powndes at the saide two yeares ende, And that after of everie of the same two yeares shalbe ended to be lent and delivered to eight other suche poor housholders that ys to saye to everie one of them five powndes a peece for other two yeares, And soe after that sort and order to continue for ever for the benefitt and relirfe of poore men of the saide occupacions, within the saide towne, upon suche bondes and sureties to be given and put in by everie suche poore man in forme aforesaide, and for want of sufficient choice of poor handecraftesmen of the saide occupacions, within the saide towne, then to be lent to poor handicraftesmen of anie other occupacions within the saide town at the discrecion of the maior bailiffes and burgesses, for suche tyme and upon such bondes and sureties as ys aforesaide, and the saide eight poore men to paye to the saide maior, bailiffes, and burgesses at thende of such two yeares five shillings a peece towards the relefe of the poore of the saide towne.

There is no record whether this charity was ever distributed, and at all events it has long ago disappeared

Immediately following the extract from this will is the transcript of another will, dated May 29th, 1607, by which Richard Elkington left to the corporation of Northampton £50, for the purpose of lending £10 apiece to five poor artificers or tradesmen of the town for the term of one year. The vicar and churchwardens were to nominate on Saint Andrew's day, and the loans to be made on St. Thomas' day, and entered by the town clerk in the book of orders.

Accordingly, the following entry comes after the will:—

Theis persons whose names and sirnames hereafter ensue, John Balgaye, hosier, John Fisher haberdasher, William Dukes cardmaker, William Stansey tanner, and Thomas Osmond haberdasher, all poore tradesmen and inhabitantes within the said towne of Northampton were nomynated by Robert Catlyn minister of the parish Church of All Saincte in the saide towne, Henry Toad and Henry Silesbie churchwardens of the same parish to the right worshipful Edward Hensman maior of the saide towne in and uppon the feaste daye of St. Andrewe the appostle Anno dni 1607 to have Tenne powndes apeece of the saide legacie of Fiftie powndes for one yeare according to the tenor of the last will and testament of the saide Richard Elkington deceased.

In 1608 the loan was made to two shoemakers, a hosier, a haberdasher, and a cardmaker; in 1609 to a hosier, a haberdasher, a glover, and an apothecary; in 1610 to two shoemakers, a tanner, a baker and a glover; and in 1611 to two shoemakers, a haberdasher, a glover, and a pewterer. Entries continued to be made of the names of the recipients of this loan, year by year, down to 1627, but the trades to which they belonged are not cited after 1611. This charity for poor tradesmen has also long ago disappeared.

SECTION EIGHT.

Freemen and Apprentices.

Generous conditions of obtaining the freedom—Orders of 1553—Various Elizabethan Regulations—List of freemen from 1561—Fees for the town freedom—A quaker freewoman of 1722—The scandal of 1733—Burgess books—The new charter of 1796, and renewal of freedom—Freedom fees in 1834—Apprentices and covenanted servants from 1561 to 1593—Implements of their trade—Earlier entries in orders of assembly—Orders of 1625—Later Regulations.

THE FREEMEN.

THE conditions of obtaining the freedom of an English town or city, and being thus enrolled among the burgesses differed to some considerable extent in the various boroughs. In several towns, notably Norwich, the crafts insisted that the only way to the municipal franchise should lie through their trades' societies. Hence if the craft masters of a special guild rejected the applicant for admission to their trade, it was quite in vain for him to attempt to obtain the general rights of a burgess.

Happily in Northampton this tyrannical system did not prevail; the commonalty throughout remained masters of the trades, and not the trades of the commonalty. Stern as was the treatment by Northampton of all "foreigners" (the householders of Kingsthorpe, Hardingstone, or Abington being as much foreigners as Frenchmen or Turks), there was no borough in England where the opportunities of obtaining the freedom were greater or less restricted.

The freedom of the borough of Northampton could be acquired in five ways: by birth, by marriage, by apprenticeship, by purchase, and by gift.

All sons of freemen born within the liberties after the enfranchisement of their father, were entitled to the freedom on coming of age. Freedom by apprenticeship was acquired by servitude to a freeman for seven years within the borough. Marriage with the daughter of a freeman, born after her father's enfranchisement, conferred the freedom on the husband. Any person dwelling in the town could be enfranchised on payment of a sum to be fixed by the corporation; this sum varied much at different periods. Occasionally the freedom was conferred gratuitously, as an honour, or as an equivalent for some service rendered.

At certain times in the late history of the town, it was also the practise to admit, as freewomen, widows or daughters of late freemen; not that the degree of freedom conferred any voting power, but it entitled them to participate in municipal charities.

The first references in the extant orders of assembly as to freemen are for the year 1553.

The first of these refers to the means used for the recovery from freemen of any dues or fines imposed by the town authorities:

Item if the chamberlaynes take any distresse for any dutie due to the chambyr of a franchised man, or the bailys likewise for any dutie due unto them and suche distresse be nott sett and the mony or dutie paid within a monthe after suche distresse taken the distresse to be praysed and sold and if any more then the dutie do remayne of the oraysing and sale, it to be delyvered to the owner, and that like lawe to be for distresses taken for any duty due to the maior for and consernyng his office.

The next entry shows that the crown in the time of Queen Mary was levying a special tax on the town by the clever device of calling upon them to substantiate their liberties, and show on what warrant they were held. The production of their charters, and the fees demanded cost £36, and this was levied on all the freemen.

Item at this assemble was assessement of all fraunchised men for to fine unto quene mary for our liberties and to answere a quo warranto that was brought agayest the liberties whiche assessment amounted above xxxvj^li this quo warranto was begon in the tyme of Harry Neel mayor and begon agayne before this assemble and contynuyed styll.

The third reference to the freemen in 1552 is not quite so easy to understand, but this seems to be the explanation. In common with other towns, Northampton was particular in insisting on the burgesses wearing no lord's or lady's livery, but only the town livery, exception being always made of any royal servant. This order was probably intended to prevent any freeman assuming some neighbouring lord's livery, such, for instance, as that of the Earl of Northampton, and thus escaping his share of the *quo warranto* fine then being levied.

Item that no franchised man shuld wear any other mans or womans lyvery to fyne, and to leve the towne unfyned in tyme of nede upon payne of losyng of his Fraunchis, except ytt be the kinge or quenys lyvery.

In the first year of Elizabeth there was an evident desire to encourage the residence of good tradesmen and even musicians within the town, for at the assembly held on October 13th, 1559, it was agreed that all manner of craftsmen, that be good workmen, such as "weytes, fullers, tinkers, carpenters, hilliars and masons" should be made free of the borough for the modest fee of 20s. In the margin the list is amplified by the addition of "and curriars and joyners."

In 1564 a restriction was imposed upon all who followed more than one handicraft; the franchise fee being in such cases quadrupled: —

It is agreed that all masons, curriers, fullers, carpenters, joiners, and cutlers shalbe made free of the liberties for xx^{s} yf they occupie that arte onely, or if he occupie eny mor occupations then one then he to pay for his fraunchize iiij^{li}.

On April 22nd, 1568, the two following resolutions were passed :—

That every Freeman sholde arrest one a other for det or otherwise, by prorsus (*sic*) and after that to have their delays accordinge to the olde Custome off the towne, to wit three weekes and no more.

That every Freeman shall paye the olde Fees accustomyd, to wit a penny to the Clarke, and ij^{d} to the serjant. And the deffendaunt beinge free and arrested shall pay iiij^{d} to wit ij^{d} to the baylys and ij^{d} to the serjant

At the next assembly, held in the following August, occurred an instance of a butcher, who was a freeman, being struck off the roll because he had run away and forsaken the town. At the same time John Ventris, gentleman, is admitted to the freedom, "on paying but xl^{s} to the Chamber" because he was "a profitable member of this towne for brewinge off bere and also doth entende to serve the towne off goode holsome beare for man's body."

In 1568 is an interesting entry, which goes to prove that the commonalty, represented by all the freemen, were still expected to yield full obedience to the summons of the mayor for any kind of municipal duty, although no longer summoned *en bloc* to general assemblies. On September 16th, of that year, the following resolution and preamble were entered in the order book.—

For as muche as dyvers obstinate wilfull and disobedient persons (contrary to ther othes taken at the time of their admission to the fredome of this towne) do neglecte ther duetie toward the mayor in absenting themselves obstinatly from his presence beinge warnyd by an officer, and upon a payne to come before the mayor by a certen tyme apointed, and specially towards mychelmas, when the mayor is neare owte of office, then they absent themselves tyll the newe mayre be entryd, more lyke banckrowtes* then honest townesmen, to the hinderance of Justice and great Slaunder of the towne

For Reformacion whereof yt ys condicendid and agreede That if Any man from henceforthe beinge Free of this towne of Northampton Shall obtinatlye wylfully and stubernlye absent hymselff From the mayore for the time beinge havinge Lawfull somons as ys aforeseide he shalbe Acompted as an obstynate and a disobedient persone, and shall paye for his dysobedience vj^{s} viij^{d} to the use of the Chamber and to be

*The early form of the word bankrupt—"banckrowte"—will be of interest to philologists.

Comytted to the gaole and ther to contynue without bayle or maynprise tyll the same vj[s] viij[d] be paide.

The penalty for absence, as originally written in the order, was that the defaulter was to be disfranchised, and only to be readmitted on payment of £4, and the correction, as it stands above, was made at some later date.

This order was evidently intended to be no dead letter. It was only made a town bye-law on September 17th, 1568, and on September 28th it was put in operation. On the latter date it was announced at an assembly that one Thomas Bishope, weaver, for his stubbornness and disobedience to the mayor's summons, was "by Mr. John Bryan Mayore hereby disfraunchized from the fredome of Northampton, and not to enjoye any liberties of the same towne, but to be accompted as a forryner in all Respects, any fredome or lyberties heretofore graunted to the seyde Bishope in any wise notwithstondinge."

In 1577 it was enacted—

That all men that be franchesed or do claime any freedome within the towne of Northton shall come and dwell within the towne and be downe leveinge and upe rysinge upon payne to be expulsed and excluded for ever and shall pay x[li] for a fyne if he be able and if not then at the discretion of the maior and his brethren

This last order was evidently only of temporary duration, in the margin is written *vacat*.

The first list of freemen is bound up with the first series of apprentice indentures, which begin in 1561.

The list of freemen, however, does not begin till 1600, during the mayoralty of Roger Higham, when twenty-one were admitted. An apprentice who had fulfilled his time paid 10s.; the son of a freeman, 3s. 4d. The full payment by an outsider of £5 was made once this year to the mayor, and in four cases the part payment of 20s. A few years later the payment by an outsider was raised to £10. The entries are made year by year in Latin until 1654, when a new commonwealth town clerk rendered them in English. Occasionally, the Latin scribe, with all his readiness in the composition of low or dog Latin, encountered a word that he could not render in the dead language, *e.g.*—"parchment maker" in English occurs several times in the midst of a Latinised sentence: "button maker" and "coach harness maker," also, had to remain in the vernacular. When a freeman's son took up his freedom, he was said to do it "jure natali," or "by birthright." Latin was

again used by the clerk on the Restoration, in 1660, and was continued to the end of the volume, in 1728.

The following trades are represented among the older entries of the freemen.—apothecary, baker, barber, blacksmith, bookbinder, butcher, button maker, carpenter, chandler, clothier, cook, cooper, cordwainer, cordwinder, currier, cutler, dyer, fellmonger, fuller, glover, grocer, haberdasher, hilliar, hosier, jerseyweaver, innholder, ironmonger, joiner, labourer, linendraper, maltster, mercer, miller, musician, ostler, parchment maker, peruquier, pewterer, point maker, ropemaker, saddler, shereman, shoemaker, smith, tailor, tanner, upholsterer, victualler, weaver, whitawer, woollendraper, woolwinder, and yeoman.

From the first volume of the orders of assembly we find that as much as £15 in 1611 and 1614, and even £20 in 1613 was paid in exceptional cases for admission to the freemen's roll. On the other hand, we find the freedom granted gratuitously to the recorder and the town counsel; to the parish clerk of All Saints, for teaching the children; to one who had interested himself in the repairs of the town wall; and to the master of the grammar school There are also several instances of men marrying the widows of freemen being admitted at half the usual fee, viz., £5.

A curious case occurred in 1634 One Henry Folwell, a tanner, pretended that he had served apprentice to Mr. Kingsworth, but the pretence being discovered, he was denied his freedom. However, he obtained the good influence of Mr. Justice Crooke, who wrote on his behalf to the corporation. Therefore, at the judge's request, his freedom was granted, but at the full fee of £10, and after he had made the following curious written submission, which he signed in the order book.—

I formerly petitioned to this Assembhe for my freedome supposing I had some right to it by reason of the composition I had made with my Mr Kinsworth but when the matter was well debated in this howse it proved otherwise That my Mr agreement with me would have bene a greate prejudice to the libertie and Corporation by suche a president and alsoe have produced to much damage to me Wherefor I appealed to the Reverend Judges in hope to have obtained it another Waye, but they well perceaving my drift would not suffer soe much wronge to the Corporation, but made it their requeast to make me free especially Mr. Justice Cooke whoe by himselfe did intreate for me to Mr Maior and some of his Brethren that for his sake you would bestow my freedome upon me which was not denyed me and as I am follie satisfied was graunted me by the Maior and Aldermen till it came to their eares that I had given out some

saucey and insulting speaches against the Ma or that I doubted not but I should Cocke him but they knowing well what grounds they stand upon denyed me Afterwardes I have againe and againe petitioned to Mr. Justice Crooke whoe hath intreated Mr Recorder to wright to them that it is his requeast it may not be charged only upon my humble submission and aknowledging my faults which finding to be soe palpable and gross that I am hartilye sorrey and ashamed most humbly beseeching you Mr. Maior and your Bretheren the Aldermen with the Bailiffs and xlviij Persons to forgive me this grosse faulte and to admitt me a freeman of this Corporation for which I shall acknowledge myself ever bound to pray for you all and doe likewise promise to carrie myself an obedient member of this bodie with all reverend respect to my governors. In witnes whereof I have caused this my submission to be publicely read oute and have hereunto set my hande.

Henry Folwell

In 1672 the assembly ordered that the Earl of Banbury be sworn a freeman according to his request, if he please to accept of the same.

In 1675 the assembly conferred the freedom of the town on the various county gentlemen who formed a committee of aid after the distressing fire.

One Henry Bazly, goldsmith, was admitted freeman in 1680, on payment of twenty marks, the order for a stranger paying £20 notwithstanding, on account of "the usefullness of his Trade in this Towne, there being noe other person of this Towne that is a working Goldsmith."

It was solemnly reaffirmed by the assembly in 1693, that no person whatsoever shall be suffered to follow or exercise any trade, art, mystery, or manual occupation within the liberties before he be sworn and admitted a freeman, under the heavy penalty of £20.

The order against persons who were not freemen trading in any way whatsoever within the liberties, was restated in a more elaborate and legal form in 1700, as a charter-sanctioned bye-law, and again in 1704.

On December 12th, 1722, Anne Hopkins, widow, being "one of the people called Quakers," who was exercising the trade of a maltster in the town, was ordered to be admitted a freewoman upon payment of £10, with the accustomed fees, and in case she refused to take up her freedom on those terms, she would be forthwith sued for an infringement of the charter. Due notice of this order was served upon Anne Hopkins, who treated it with contempt, and continued to exercise her trade. A case was submitted to the deputy recorder, Mr. Cuthbert, and he advised that

action should be taken under bye-law, 1704, which was duly witnessed, in accordance with the charter, by two of her majesty's judges.

On March 29th, 1739, the assembly ordered that James Williamson, mercer, be admitted a freeman according to his petition. In his petition he offered £20 for his freedom, but the assembly ordered that he should pay £50, together with the accustomed fees, and that if he should presume to open shop or expose for sale any goods within the town before he was a freeman, he should forthwith be prosecuted. Williamson was served with the order, but he refused to take up his freedom at £50 saying it was an exorbitant price. He opened shop, and speedily drove a considerable trade as mercer, woollen draper, and haberdasher of small wares. The town books showed that the sum of £50 had only once been paid for a freedom, but that £40 had been paid two or three times.

The assembly stated a case to their deputy recorder, Mr. Danvers. Mr. Danvers' reply was somewhat equivocal, though, on the whole, he advised the corporation to proceed with an action. He concluded as follows:—"Though I have given my thoughts as plainly as I can, this being a matter of such great consequence, I would not have my opinion onely be depended upon because I know my Lord Chief Justice Holt (that Oracle of the Law) hath often set himself against such exclusion of foreigners, saying it was against the liberty of the subject, and that it was a grievance that there were any Corporations in England that should pretend to exclude any person who have been bred up to a trade; but what hath been the opinion of the Judges of Exchequer I cannot say having so long declined any attendance at the Bar."

The second book of the enrolment of freemen begins in 1730, and extends to 1797. It is arranged under the different mayors; the first two years are in Latin, and the remainder in English.

The usual fee for an outsider was £10; whilst the fees paid by apprentices and children of freemen on admission were 10s. and 3s. 4d. respectively. In the latter part of the book, the fee was occasionally £20, and often £13. 6s. 8d.

In 1733 occurred the great scandal, which resulted in the freemen being declared ineligible, as such, for the parliamentary franchise. This question is entered into under the heading of parliamentary burgesses, but it may here be stated that the cor-

poration at this juncture decided to secure a victory for their candidate by the wholesale manufacture of non-resident freemen at three guineas apiece. The total number of gentlemen of the county and neighbouring shires, thus admitted to the Northampton burgess roll, between February 12th and April 9th, 1733, was actually 396; of this number 35 were clergy.

At an assembly held on June 10th, 1740, forty-nine freemen were struck off the roll, and formally "disfranchised and ousted of his and their several and respective freedoms." The list begins with Sir Edmund Isham, of Lamport, and is chiefly composed of country squires and gentlemen, but also includes thirteen of the tradesfolk of Northampton.

No reason is assigned for this action, and we can only suppose that it was for some technical default, for the assembly of October 2nd, of the same year, reinstated forty-four of those disfranchised on June 17th, "upon application in that behalf by them respectively made." The application was evidently a personal one, for though readmitted gratis, each one of the applicants had to retake the oaths

Amongst the corporation books is a third volume containing enrolments of freemen. It begins in 1768 and ends in 1835, and, consequently overlaps its predecessor by some 30 years. After 1789 no freemen's payments are entered, and the book is simply a record of names.

There are series of thin burgess or freeman books, seven in number, containing simply the names of the freemen on their admission entered against the embossed stamps (two of one shilling each), according to act of parliament.

The first book contains 208 names, all enrolled during the mayoralty of Thomas Peach, 1714-15.

The second book has 209 names of the year 1726-7

The third book has 452 names, all enrolled during 1733-4, the year of the notorious election.

The fourth book shows an excessive reaction, and covers the next two years. In 1734-5 there were six new freemen, and in 1735-6 there were eight.

Book five covers the next eleven years, down to 1746-7, having an average of about twenty a year.

The sixth book is for the next six years, down to 1752-3.

The seventh and last carries the series down to 1759-60.

At the October meeting of the assembly in 1767, it was ordered that any one, not being entitled to the freedom of the town by birth or servitude, might be admitted to the freedom on payment of £10 in cash, or if married to the daughter of a freeman, on payment of £5. Several persons were soon after admited to the freedom by payment, by the mayor and town clerk, on taking the necessary oaths. "Certain ill disposed persons" objected to this, and said that there should be a petition to the assembly before any freedom could be granted, and they applied for a *quo warranto* against the mayor and town clerk in the court of king's bench. In January, 1768, the assembly instructed counsel to defend their officials, stating that the mayor and town clerk, in thus acting with regard to freedoms that were purchased, were merely following ancient usage and custom.

The assembly resolved, on April 29th, 1796, that as the new charter was only binding upon those who think proper to accept it, it was necessary that those who had taken out their freedom under the former charter and were desirous of possessing the benefits and privileges of the corporation under the new charter, should testify their acceptance by taking the oath of office of a freeman as heretofore. Twelve days were appointed for the administering the freeman's oath to those desirous of taking it, the days and hours to be advertised in the *Northampton Mercury*.

At this first assembly after the new charter, Hon. Spencer Perceval, then a candidate to represent Northampton in parliament was made an honorary freeman.

It was first resolved that any man resident in the town could purchase his freedom for £10, and any woman for £5, and that any one marrying a freeman's daughter, could gain his freedom for £5—in all cases in addition to the customary fees.

At the next assembly (May 24th, 1796), Mr. William Walcot, and Hon. Edward Bouverie, the two other parliamentary candidates, were also made honorary freemen.

In 1804 it was ordered that the purchase of freedoms be £15 instead of £10, and £7. 10s. instead of £5 on marriage of a freeman's daughter, also that the usual fees be increased by one-third of the former amount.

On November 7th, 1823, fifty-two persons were admitted at the assembly to the freedom of the town by purchase.

On August 9th, 1827, twenty-six persons were added to the freemen's roll after a similar fashion.

The assembly of December, 1833, added one-hundred-and-two names to the freemen's roll, all by purchase.

The commissioners of municipal corporations, who reported in 1835, give the following list of fees that were then paid on admission to the freedom; they had grown materially during the last few years of the life of the old corporation.

By birth.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
To the mayor... ...	0	4	6				
,, ,, town clerk ...	0	16	2				
,, ,, macebearer ...	0	1	4	Fee on admission ...	1	2	0

By marriage.

To the corporation ...	7	0	0				
,, ,, mayor ...	0	4	6				
,, ,, town clerk ...	0	18	2				
,, ,, macebearer ...	0	1	4	Fee on admission ...	8	4	0

By apprenticeship.

To the corporation ...	0	13	4				
,, ,, mayor ...	0	4	6				
,, ,, town clerk ...	0	16	4				
,, ,, macebearer ...	0	1	4	Fee on admission ...	1	15	6

If the indentures are inrolled with the town clerk, he is entitled to an additional fee of 18s. 8d.

By purchase.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d
To the corporation ...	14	0	0				
,, ,, mayor ...	0	4	6				
,, ,, town clerk ...	0	18	2				
,, ,, macebearer ...	0	1	4	Fee on admission ...	15	4	0

APPRENTICES.

Before giving the following extracts and references as to Northampton's regulations as to apprentices, a very brief comment must be offered on the general question. From the attention that we

have been able to give in the past to the town apprentice question, in many other boroughs, we have no hesitation in saying that Northampton, of Elizabethan and early Jacobean days, stands out most favourably in the treatment of her young handicraftsmen.

Many other boroughs, through the jealousy of the leading merchants and manufacturers, and in order to have a larger supply of raw labour, passed severe local laws, strictly limiting the number of apprentices; whilst the heavy fines before they could enter a craft or obtain their freedom, caused many a man, when he had finished his apprenticeship, to fall back with the rank and file of the ordinary hired labourers. The small degree of limitation in numbers imposed at Northampton, seems to have been mainly in the interests of the apprentice, so that no freeman should have more of these youths than he could comfortably support in his own house. The stringent regulations as to the enrolment of the indentures, carried out, as a rule, most faithfully in this borough, as the books prove, were a great safeguard against the apprentice being meanly shaken off shortly before the end of his term, and in favour of his securing his freedom as a certainty at a most moderate fee.

In many other towns it was quite the exception to find in the covenant any stipulation as to the youth receiving, when his service ended, the implements of his trade, but at Northampton this was the rule, and not the exception.

A general fact with regard to town apprentices of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, which is often forgotten, should also be remembered, namely, the extreme youth of these budding townsmen. Children were apprenticed constantly as young as seven, and never older than twelve.

Great care was taken, too, at Northampton, with regard to covenanted servants, as apart from apprentices, the covenant being personally witnessed by the mayor, with both parties before him. The case of little Agnes Matthews, in 1593, should be noted, as an early instance of a humane covenant in comparatively rough days.

Book number xiii of Mr. Stuart Moore's catalogue, contains an interesting series of memoranda giving all the salient points of the covenants entered into with covenanted servants and apprentices, before the mayor from 1561 to 1721. A few of the earlier examples are here given of these various agreements.—

M^d the fyrst daie of July in the fourthe yere of the Reigne of Quene Elizabethe, Henry Cowper the son of Henry Cowper of hakelton in the county of North'ton dicessed hathe put himselfe Couvenant Servant ut John Jonson of North'toh Corvicer from may day last past for the terme of vij yeres, and at the end of seven yeres shall give him xx^s in mony, and honest apparrell dowble, and the three first yeres a j^d a quarter and the foure last yeres ij^d le quarter, etc. and meate and drinke.

M^d the sevinthe daie off July in the Eight yere off the Reigne of our Soveraine Lady Quene Elizabethe, William Wallys the sone of William Wallis late of Thindon deceased hathe put himselff apprentice to Richard Twickton of Northampton glover from the feast of pentecost last past unto the ende off sevin yeares fully to be complet and endide and at the end of the sevyn yeres shall make him Free off the towne of Northton and to give him apparrell bothe For holly day and working day. Item it is agreed betwene the saide parties with the consent of thomas Wallis his brother, that the said Richard Twickton shall or may Receyve of the tenaunt off the landes and tenementes off William Wallys his aprentice yerely upon the monday in whitsonweeke called witson Monday Fortie shillinges untill the some of tenne poundes be payde for the repayment whereoff the saide Richard Twickton standithe bounden the saide Thomas Wallys by his obligation bearinge date the daie of the date above writon.

M^d that Miles Muckhill the xxix^th day of September in the yere of o^r Lord God 1563 in the fyvethe yere of the Reigne of o^r sovraine Lady quene Elizabethe dyd become Covenant servant to Wm Fytcher shomoker for sevyn yeres from thence next folowinge to be fully complet and ended and in the end to give him x^s in mony and apparell mete for him.

Richard Wharloo maior.

M^d at the feast of Christmas 1565 boniface Digwyde hath put himselff Covenaunt servant with Richard Emston of Northton taylor him to serve from the saide feast For the term of vij yeres, and at the ende off vij yeres the saide Richard Emston to gyve boniface his servant xx^s in mony And doble Apparell Witnes Symon Charlton serjeant and George Newe taylor.

Mr. Balgey then beinge maior.

M^d at the feast of all saintes 1568 Giles Amasko the son of John Amasko of Cartmell in the Countie of Lancashire hathe put himself Covenaunt servant with Roger Haskyn of Northampton taylor for ix yeres with doble apparrell a paire of sheres and a pressinge yron and pleege, Giles Slatier Cristofer benloos of Kendall.

M^d Henry Stokes the sone of John Stokes, of Kettilby in the Countie of Leecter husbondman put himself Covenaunt servant to George Harrison of Northampton shuesmith with him to dwell from the feast of Seynt John baptyste 1567 unto the end of vij yeres, and at the Ende of vij yeres to give Henry Stokes a sledy, a buttres, a paire of bellos, a paire of pynsons, iij hammers, a vice, a byckhorn, and at every of two of the last yeres shall give him xij^d a quarter in monye. Mr. Edward Manley then beinge Maior of Northton.

M^d that the first day off August A^o 1575 Katherine Hynde the doughter off Thomas Hynde off Northampton shomaker and chymney sweeper off Northton have by the consent off Mr. Edwarde Manley then beinge maior of Northton put hirself Covenant servant to John Yonge of Northton mercer and Alyce his wiff for the terme and end of vij yeres, the terme to begyne from Michaelmas next followinge. And the seyde John Yonge and Alyce his wiff shall fynd Katherin Hynde their servant meate drink lynen and woollen duringe the seyde terme off vij yeres, and at the last ende of vij yeres shall give hir doble Apparreil for holly daie and worsinge day, and vj^s viij^d in mony.

xxiij die Decembr A^o xxvj Elis. 1593 Johs Mercer maior M^d that Henry Moseley of the towne of Northampton Moltaker hathe promysed to kepe one Agnes Mathewes for the terme of Twelve yeres from Mychelmas laste fyndinge the saide childe meate dryncke Apparrell Lodgeinge learneinge, and to use the saide chylde well and to kepe it Cleane

M^d that Henry Sherley sone of William Sherley of Lodington in the countie of of Northampton Taylor hathe by indenture bearing date the Sixthe daye of October in the five and thirteth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne Ladye queene Elizabethe putt himselfe apprentice with Richard Chambers of the towne of Northampton, musician for the term of Eight yeres from the feast of St Michaell tharchangell then last past before the date of the same Indenture, The saide Henry Sherley dothe covenante to doe his saide M^r true and diligent service during the said terme, And the said Richard Chambers dothe covenant to fynde him all things necessarie during the saide terme, to teach him the said art musicye or science of a musician, and to give him at the ende of the saide terme double apparreil, fyve shilings in money, and a treble violere.

In addition to the implements of their trade handed to apprentices or covenanted servants at the end of their term by a tailor (which was general), a blacksmith, and a musician, as mentioned above, we find stipulations made that a glazier should provide a vice to frame lead in; a joiner a set of tools such as would make a bedstead and a cupboard; a barber a comb, a pair of barber's scissors, and a case of barber's knives, and a cutler twelve suitable files and a vice. Some stipulate for linen and woollen raiment, hose, and shoes, and bedding throughout the term; others for meat, drink, washing, and lodging; and almost invariably the double apparel at the close of their servitude. The master frequently covenants to teach the trade or occupation; and in the case of a glover to teach both "water work and shop work". Another frequent proviso with apprentices was to pay the fees for the town's freedom when the term was completed. The double apparel proviso

ceased about 1665. The mother of the youthful apprentice occasionally undertook to provide her boy's hose, and now and again his shirts; but unless specially provided against, the master found all clothing.

In the assembly order book, under the year 1554, are brief entries in Latin of the indentures of eight apprentices.

There are also several entries in English of the years 1559 to 1560 with regard to apprentices and covenanted servants, of which we give two examples:—

John Stockdale the sone of John Stockdale of Northampton, Carpenter, hathe put himself aprentice to Edmund Archebold of Northton and Elizabethe his wyff, Clotheer, for the term off eight yeres from the feast of the purification of o' Ladye Ao Dni 1559. A° Regine Dni Elizabethe Sedo.

Edward Downes the sone of John Downes of Northton, Glover, hathe put himself covenant with John Coyne of Northton, Poynt maker, with him to dwell to lerne Glovers craft, skynners craft, and poynt makinge, the term begin at the feast of Savnt John Baptist A° 1560 for term of seven years, and the four last yeres four grotes, and at the last year 6s 8d, with honest rayment both for hoth day and working day.

Owing to certain irregularities, the assembly ordered, in 1609, that apprentices who have served within the liberty for at least seven years, shall be admitted freemen without any charge as heretofore, provided that the apprentice can show that he was duly enrolled in the book of records of apprentices.

It was ordered in 1619 that no tradesmen should have or retain in his service above three apprentices at one time.

There having been great laxity with regard to the enrolment of apprentices, whereby many had been admitted freemen irregularly, and at too early a date, it was ordered by the assembly in 1624, that every inhabitant hereafter taking any apprentice was at the next court of hustings, held in the guildhall after the binding of his apprentice to bring his apprentice with the indenture, and there present him to the mayor to be enrolled in open court, paying for the presentment 12d. to the chamber, and for the enrolment 6d. to the town clerk.

At another assembly, in the same year, it was stated that an abuse had arisen, whereby divers apprentices had not continued out their full term with their first masters, but had been turned over corruptly and deceitfully to others for the rest of their term.

It was therefore ordered that no freeman should hereafter take any apprentice who had been formerly bound to some other free-

man, unless the turning over was duly enrolled at the court of hustings, under a penalty of forty shillings; and that any apprentice opening any shop, or using any trade, craft, mystery, or manual occupation before his time had expired, was to be fined twenty shillings a week for every week that he so offended.

That there were disadvantages as well as advantages in the exceptional laxity with regard to apprentices according to Northampton customs, customs which had become more vague and lax as time went on, is evident from an order of 1625.

On August 4th, of that year, the assembly resolved that—

Whereas by the multitude of Apprentices taken into this Corporation out of the Countie or other Counties within this Realme it appeareth that much hurt and damage cometh to the same and the childeren borne and bredd within the said Corporation, forasmuch as manie of the saide childeren as well those which are less destitute of parents and meanes of maintenance, as others, cannot by reason hereof be preferred to ane apprenticeship with ane freeman of the same, whereby they might be educated and brought up naturally in the place of their birth, but divers of them by reason of apprentices are promiscuously and unnaturally taken as is aforeseide are driven to wander abroad, begging, and to be disorderly for want of employments For remedy hereof it is agreed and ordered that no freeman shall at ane time hereafter take any person or persons to be his apprentice or apprentices but such whose parent or parents shalbe towne dwellers then if they be hiring or have bene towne dwellers by the space of one yeare at the least before their decease, if they be then dead, or shalbe freemen of some city or town corporate within this realme, upon payne that every freeman taking an apprentice otherwise and thereof convicted shall forfitt, loose, and pay for every apprentice soe taken Three Pounds to the Chamberlains.

The following orders of the seventeenth century were all directed against foreigners, and with the intention of bolstering up the town trade in the interests of the apprentices as well as the freemen.

It was ordered in 1629 that the constables and thirdboroughs of each ward were every month to present to the mayor the names of all newcomers, tapsters, chamberlains, and others, and the receiver or receivers of them, and that any constable or thirdborough negligent in this duty was to be fined 6s. 8d

In 1637 a stringent order was passed prohibiting woollen drapers, mercers, innholders, victuallers, shoemakers, tailors, and all other persons using any art, mystery, occupation, or science whatsoever, from employing as a journeyman (and not as an an apprentice) any one coming out of the country, or from any foreign place, without the previous leave of the mayor and justices.

SECTION NINE.

Charitable Foundations.

Hospital of St. Leonard—A parochial chapel—The mayor's oath—St. Leonard's farm and the lazerman—Seal of St. Leonard's—Hospital of St. John—Complaints against the masters and their non-residence—Endeavours of corporation to secure control—Seal of St. John's—Hospital of St. Thomas—Its management by the corporation—Removal of lunatics, 1854—Demolition of buildings, 1872—Langham's Charity—Sir Thomas White's loan charity—Freeman's charity—The free grammar school and its masters—The corporation and education—Tables of benefactions in town hall—Report of corporation committee in 1783.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD.

AMONG the corporation records there is a valuable collection of early evidences with regard to the lands pertaining to the hospital of St. Leonard on the south side of the town. The first of these, about 1150, is a grant from Adam, son of Nigel, son of Mervin to God and the Hospital of St. Leonard of Northampton and the sick men serving God there, of his shop in Whimplers Row in the market of Northampton, which is near the shop of the said sick men towards the east in the same row.

The next one is a charter of Henry II. granting protection to the lepers of St. Leonard's, Northampton, and permission to receive alms Mr. Stuart Moore considered that this charter was probably granted at the time when Henry II. called his great council at Northampton at which Thomas-à-Becket was arraigned.

During the reigns of Richard I. and John there were many gifts to the hospital A grant of land at Pitsford, in the latter reign, assigns it to "The Blessed Mary and the sick brethren and sisters of the house of St Leonard at Northampton serving God, St Mary, and St Leonard there"

A grant about 1250 pertaining to this house makes mention of "le cowmede," which is the first mention we have met with of the Cow Meadow.

Another grant of 1294 devises land to the master, brethren, and sisters of the lepers of St. Leonard, without Northampton.

In 1295 mention is made of the parish of St. Leonard without Northampton. All the rites of a parochial church seem to have been administered to the inhabitants of the district in the chapel of St. Leonard from the time of the foundation of the chapel.

In 1281 the vicar of Hardingstone claimed offerings and tithe from the residents in the liberty of St. Leonard. Evidence, however, was given that the inhabitants, from time immemorial, had worshipped in the chapel of St. Leonard, and had the offices of baptism and burial performed by the chaplain.

The Bishop of Lincoln decided in favour of St. Leonards, but ordered that every future chaplain presented by the mayor and burgesses of Northampton should also obtain the consent of the prior of St. Andrew's, and of the vicar of Hardingstone.

It is a remarkable, and, possibly, a unique arrangement for the chapel of a lazar house to be used for parochial purposes. St. Leonard's, however, is traditionally stated to have been founded by William the Conqueror, and if so, was established some time before any special provision was made for lepers in England It seems therefore probable that parochial rights preceded the settlement of the lepers in connection with this chapel, and that the sick brethren and sisters had either a small detached chapel of their own, or else used the quire, securely screened off from the parts devoted to general worship.

During the reigns of the first three Edwards there were numerous small grants of land to the hospital. From this date the documents are chiefly leases.

A deed of about the year 1300 is of interest. It is a grant from the master and brethren of the house of St. Lazarus of Burton (Burton Lazars) to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Leonard, in Northampton, of a toft in the suburb of Northampton, opposite the hospital church, which they were to hold of the house of St. Lazarus by rendering a yearly payment at Michaelmas of 12d.; and if it should ever happen that the house of St Leonard should fail in this payment, that then the brother or messenger sent to collect the rent was to be ministered to at the expense of the master and brethren of St Leonard's till the rent was fully paid.

The Lincoln episcopal registers contain a variety of institutions to the chaplaincy of St Leonard's, of which an incomplete list is given in Bridge's *History*. The first is that of John de Tutbury, in 1282 on the presentation of R. Fitzhenry, mayor of Northampton, and the rest of the burgesses, with the consent of the prior of St Andrew's, and the vicar of Hardingstone. The hospital was technically in Hardingstone parish, and the prior of St Andrew held the rectory and nominated the vicars. The consent of the prior and vicar is also recorded in an institution of 1293, but in all subsequent cases the mayor and burgesses are entered as the sole patrons without any qualifications. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the

mayor of Northampton for the time being is termed the master of the hospital.

In the fifteenth century the town adopted the unhappy expedient of leasing the hospital of St. Leonard's, with all its lands, tenements, rents, etc., making the lessee responsible for all the duties that really pertained to the mayor as master. An instance of this has been given in the customary (vol. i., pp 402-5) for the year 1472, when the corporation let the hospital on a life lease to John Peck, of Kingsthorpe. The lessee covenanted to pay the chaplain eight marks a year (or four marks, with food and drink and three yards of cloth), to pay five pence a week to each male or female leper who might be there; and once a year two gammons of bacon and a bushel of oatmeal; and to keep the houses, buildings, and church in good repair. The object of a lessee would thus obviously be to keep down the number of the inmates

The arrangement proved, however, to be a conspicuous failure; probably a heavy fine for the lease was paid to the corporation, though that is not stated. In 1505, most likely on the death of John Peck, the assembly determined not only to retain the management in their own hands, but to insist on their mayors, when they entered on office, taking an oath to manage the hospital personally, in conjunction with a committee elected by the corporation. This most interesting oath is written out in full in the older of the two town customaries, which is now in the British Museum.—

SACRAMENTUM HOSPITALIS SCI LEONARDI.

Ye shall swere that ye shall well and treuly kepe and governe the hospytall of Seynt Leonardes the Abbott in Coton bysydes Norhampton Which hath byn mysse used and evyll governed and gevyn awey contrary to the Fyrst graunte therof in tymes passed Therefore hit is provided and ordeyned by Robarde Shefforde meyre of the seide Town of Norhampton and the Comburgesses and Comynalte havyn assented and conducended of an hole mynde and aggrement by the Corporation of the seide Towne That in no maner of wise From this tyme Forwarde that the seide hospitall of Seint Leonarde shalbe gevyn graunted or to ferme sette to eny man persone or persones in tyme comyng. But that it shalbe allweys remyane for evermore in the meyres hondes for the tyme beyng Comburgesses and Comynalte accordyng to their Fyrst graunte. And also that they may chose and elect of theymselves ij of the meyres Brethern to have the Rule oversight and good governaunce of the forseide hospitall, Also underneth them one Bailly to rase levy and receyve thereof all maner Rentes anuytees with all and singuler other appurtenaunces to the forseide hospitall apperteynyng and belongyng, And that the seid Wardens and overseers with the seide Bailly once in the yere within one monyth after the Fest

of oure Lorde next commyng that they do make their due and lawfull accomptes how they have reuled and governed the goodys of the seide place for that yere beyng and how they byn employed to the universall weale of the same to your comyng and power so helpe you God and all seynts, and by that boke.

Though the use of the chapel (which had long served as a parish church for the suburb of Cotton end) was abandoned during the plunder period of Henry VIII. and Edward VI, the brethren and sisters supported there apparently dispersed, and the devises of land connected with masses seized by the crown, the corporation of Northampton was sufficiently powerful to prevent everything going to the king and his rapacious courtiers.

In 1550 there was an award in Chancery between the mayor and burgesses of Northampton and Francis Samwell, who claimed to have purchased the chapel of St. Leonard's of the crown, in the third year of Edward VI. The award assigned the chapel and the churchyard to the mayor and burgesses and their successors "to such use and intent as they shall think meet and expedient by their discretion," on a certain payment to Francis Samwell. It was further ordered that if the mayor and burgesses should happen to sell any lead of the chapel of St Leonard, that the said Francis should have one fodder of it, paying to them £5

The chapel has long ago disappeared. It had evidently vanished before the Elizabethan terrier of 1586 of the corporation possessions was drawn up, when the town possessed a meadow there called St. Leonard's hook. On the site of the hospital, and comprising some of the secular buildings, a farmhouse was erected, which after various vicissitudes of flood and fire, finally disappeared about the beginning of this century. It was known as St. Leonard's farm, and was situated immediately to the left of the road on the further side of the south bridge, after passing the Midland Railway gates. It is somewhat to the credit of the corporation of those days that they did not appropriate all the rents from this ancient hospital to mere town uses, for they built a small cottage or tenement on the site, called the Spittle or Lazerhouse, which was occupied by a single poor man rent free. The almsman also received a weekly allowance of two shillings, together with a suit of clothes and a load of firewood once a year The appointment of this corporation bedesman, usually termed the lazerman, rested with the mayor and aldermen.

The following are some examples of references to St. Leonard's and the lazerman in the town records.

In August, 1663 the assembly ordered that speedy care be taken for rebuilding the "Lazermans House, the same having been driven down by the late great flood."

In April 1665, Mrs. Wilson, the tenant of the dwelling houses and outhouses called St. Leonard's farm, received notice to "build anew the Barne then lately ruyned by a great Flood."

The court of aldermen, in 1731, ordered that "William Batman, mason, who is very old and lame, be according to his petition placed in the lazerhouse belonging to St Leonard's farm, in Cotton end, in the room of John Shortgrave, lately deceased, and do receive the weekly pay and other provisions settled for the maintenance of the said lazerman."

On the death of William Batman, in 1740, Robert Cox, gardener, was placed in the lazerhouse in Batman's room

In 1724 it was ordered that the chamberlain for the time being do yearly provide apparel for the "Lazerman" to the value of 15s. over and besides his weekly pay and load of wood, the apparel to be such as the lazerman shall desire and choose.

The seal of St. Leonard's hospital, given on plate VI., fig. 5, though of much interest, is a late and somewhat poorly executed example of about 1450. A full length figure of St. Leonard is represented beneath elaborate canopied work, whilst below St. Leonard is a gateway surmounted by a crown. The gateway is, in all probability, intended to represent the town gate on the south bridge close to the hospital, whilst the crown may be taken to signify that it was a royal foundation of William the Conqueror. The legend round, in small black letter is:—

S . coe . domus . scf . leonardi . iuxta . northampton .

Hospital of St. John.

The exact date of the foundation of this hospital is uncertain, as well as the name of the founder. The patent rolls of 1306 confirm certain grants that were made to the hospital by Henry II., and it seems probable that the actual year of the foundation was 1138. In Dugdale's *Monasticon* it is stated that the hospital was founded by Walter, archdeacon of Northampton, for the reception and maintenance of the infirm; but there was no archdeacon of Northampton of that name at that period One William was archdeacon of Northampton in the reign of Stephen, and Walter is

probably an error. Bishop Grossteste (1235-1254) drew up a constitution for the hospital which was to be read three times a year before the master and brethren. These injunctions were confirmed and extended by Bishop Buckingham (1363-1397).

These orders enjoined upon the brothers to keep silence within the church, dormitory, and refectory; to wear a uniform and humble habit of one colour, with a black cross imposed upon it; to admit no woman within the precincts; to make weekly confession of foucesses and sins before the chapter, together with other regulations such as usually pertained to a religious house.

Two centuries later, when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was drawn up, in 1535, the regulations of this hospital seem to have been considerably changed.

At that time a certain number of aged poor were maintained in the hospital, the names of three men and five women who were in receipt of twopence a day being given.

A certificate of this hospital at the time of the general survey in 1546, describes it as founded to find one master, two priests, and eight poor folk, and to keep hospitality. The hospital is described as no parish church, but only for the company there inhabiting.

The church pertaining to the hospital had its burying ground from an early date, for in 1286 a vacant piece of land is conveyed to the brothers of St. John for enlarging their cemetery

An elaborate charter of Charles I.: granted in 1631 purports to quote from the original foundation deed, from which it appears that the practice that existed in the time of Henry VIII. and was continued down to recent days, when two co-brethren or chaplains held annual stipends, and eight almsmen or almswomen had a weekly allowance, was not a part of the primary intention of the foundation. The object of the hospital in its earlier days was to afford temporary entertainment and refreshment for the infirm poor and for orphans; whilst the "languidi vel leprosi" were excepted as being likely to prove a permanent charge upon the establishment.

The Bishop of Lincoln was, from its first origin, the patron of the hospital, and had the presentation of the master. Grave charges of mismanagement and monopolisation of the funds by non-resident masters were made before the Reformation, and these evils materially increased when the formation of the diocese of Peterborough removed all connection of the town with Lincoln. The mastership

of St. John's, Northampton, came to be regarded as a lucrative sinecure to the disgrace of all concerned.

In the days of Elizabeth, about 1573, Bishop Cowper, of Lincoln, presented Mr. Arthur Wake, M.A., to the mastership The domestic state papers show that this master of St. John's, Northampton took himself off, almost immediately after his preferment, to the island of Jersey, and there lived with his friend, the captain general, Mr. Paulet After he had been absent from the kingdom for more than a year, formal complaints were lodged with the bishop, and he felt constrained to remonstrate. Whereupon Mr. Wake, in the spring of 1575, wrote to the Earl of Leicester, asking him to procure a license, that he might enjoy his living, notwithstanding his absence, as he had no intention of coming home. The earl seems to have lacked the courage to ask the privy council or his royal mistress for such a license, but contented himself with writing a letter, sadly characteristic of the times, wherein he bitterly complained to the bishop of his efforts to remove his friend, Arthur Wake, from the hospital, concluding by writing that if he (the bishop) wished to find the earl in the future favourable to any of his desires that he would suffer Mr. Wake to retain the Northampton mastership in quietness!

In 1584 William Westgate was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, and some of the most influential men in the town and county of Northampton again endeavoured to obtain some amendment with regard to the scandals pertaining to the hospital. Failing with the bishop, they lodged their complaint with the privy council. The following is from the state papers for that year:—

There hathe bene dyvers Justices within the Counne of Northampton with dyvers other persons of good creditt that hathe taken vewe of the said Hospitall that the said hospitall tograther with the Revenewes thereof were not imployed nor used according to the first foundacion as did then manifestly appeare But were converted to the great benefitt and Commodity of suche persons as the orders of the house would not warrant And that hardly the xx^th parte of the said Revenewes were at any time given to the releife of any impotent aged or feeble persons.

One Mr Wake that pretendethe hymselfe to be master of the said hospitall would not permitt nor suffer the said Justices to take any vewe of the Evidences belongingge to the said Hospitall

The cause wherfore the said pretended M^r would not permitte the said Justices to to tak vewe of the said Evidences was afterwards discovered by certen credible persons who affirmed that the most parte of the Evidences of the said Hospitall were burnt of Late yeares by one Mr Lowe that was last M^r thereof who affirmed that if the

said Evidences should come to light that they would overthrowghe the wholl state of the said Hospitall

And lastly the said Justices did fynde that the said Hospitall was greatly decayed, and the Cheete howse belonginge to the same was pulled downe and made a prvvat dwellinge howse. And the late masters of the said Hospitall have taken upon them of theire owne Authorytie to make leases for mony yeres of the said Lands and tenements belonginge to the said Hospitall not reservinge the olde and accustomed Rentes.

And to dyvers they have made graunites of the saide Landes in Tayle to them and to theire heires males, and for want of such yssue male for foure score yeres after to theire assignes And to some they have solde a waye dyvers of the said landes to them and to their heires for ever preservinge some small Cheefe Rente or almost noe Rent at all So as if these and dyvers other persons be suffered within verie short tyme the wholle Revenewes of the said Hospitall wi be cleane confiscate.

Neither is he yt pretendeth himselfe M' suche a person as he ought to be neither yet lawfully called or preferred to that place for it is apparent he is enigable by the fellows and brethren of the said house And there was non at all present at the election of him.

Mr. Arthur Lowe, mentioned in this complaint, was appointed master in 1544, on the resignation of Richard Burdsall.

Upon Mr. Arthur Wake's resignation in the time of James I., a succeeding bishop presented William Wake, who held the mastership until his resignation in 1638, when Bishop Williams presented George Wake, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Master of Arts, and chancellor of the diocese of Peterborough. George Wake was several times dispossessed, his tenure of office giving rise to considerable litigation, but he died master in 1682, and was buried in the chapel of the hospital

When the supporters of the Commonwealth gained the upper hand in Northampton, the town was anxious to secure the large revenues of this hospital and to administer it solely for the benefit of the poor. They made the excuse of Mr. Wake's presence in Oxford at the time when the king made it a garrison town, to secure the sequestration of the hospital estates. But on the surrender of Oxford to Lord Fairfax in 1646, Mr. Wake entered his name as a compounder at Goldsmith's hall, and put in a particular of his estates, the greatest part of which was the mastership of this hospital. The corporation of Northampton thereupon formally exhibited articles against the master, alleging that he had for a long time neglected having two co-brothers, that he had not duly preserved the deeds and evidences in a three-locked chest, that he had embezzled or lost various evidences whereby much of the rents and revenues had been lessened; that he

had withheld from the co-brothers and poor of the hospital thirty-five loads of wood; that he had allowed the houses and buildings belonging to the hospital to become long ruinous, and some to fall down; that he had illegally sold some of the property of the hospital; that he had granted divers unwarrantable leases without the concurrence of the two co-brothers; and that when he was requested to make discovery of such houses and lands as had been unwarrantably sold, that he "the said George Wake did say, affirm, and swear that he would not discover the same, but would rather beg for his livelihood, with a dish under his arm, than make any such discovery."

The committee, in the following December, decided against his being admitted to compound for the mastership as it was an office of trust. Early in 1647, the poor of the hospital petition the knights and burgesses for the town and county of Northampton, and the committee of Goldsmith's hall, that as the hospital has time out of mind belonged to George Wake and his predecessors, who have been worthy benefactors, that he may be continued master; that he has never wronged the poor of the house; and that William Wake, his predecessor, was rather a founder of the house than a master, having spent more in lawsuits to maintain his rights than the revenue of the mastership.

On April 5th, 1647, Wake begged to compound for the mastership excepted from his composition, as the House of Commons had adjudged it real estate; and that three persons who had been put into the hospital more than the estate allowed be not displaced, but their maintenance as supernumeraries be accepted in lieu of a fine. In June the committee suspended his sequestration on payment of half his fine, and he was to be allowed the hospital profits beyond what was used for the poor, provided he sued out a pardon.

The mayor and corporation of Northampton addressed the committee in April, 1648, begging that if Wake's title be held good, they may pay him £35 a year whilst master, and employ the rest of the hospital profits for the poor. The two last mayors had been entrusted with the whole profits, but they were now required to pay the rents to Wake, who, as they conceived, had no good title to the mastership. They stated that the town and adjacent places were very full of maimed soldiers and poor widows, and begged to be heard. Whereupon the committee ordered both

parties to appear before them, with the result that the case was referred to the House of Commons, and the house referred it back to the committee.

In July, 1648, two of the aldermen had their expenses defrayed for journeying to London to follow up the cause of St. John's Hospital on behalf of the town. It was at the same time agreed that the mayor and Mr. Gifford shall at once proceed to London to follow up the case in Goldsmith Hall, where it would be heard on Friday next, and to present a petition on behalf of the corporation that the management of the hospital and its lands may be so disposed of that the income shall wholly go to the support of the poor.

In the following September the assembly resolved to desire the sequestrators of delinquent's estates in Northampton to join with Aldermen Rushworth and Sergeant in managing and ordering the hospital of St. John for the present, and that there shall shortly be a petition presented to parliament for obtaining a grant to the corporation, giving them power to yearly nominate two masters for St. John's Hospital, and to superintend its accounts for the good of the poor, as they already do with St. Thomas' Hospital

The corporation, however, were not successful, for Mr. Wake was admitted to compound for the mastership on payment of his full fine and on allowing the supernumary almsmen to remain. The sequestration of the hospital was taken off on November 27th, 1648.

Litigation was resumed in 1653, and was not settled at the time of the Restoration. Serious charges of irregularity were made against Dr. Wake in 1665, and again in 1678, but he managed to retain the mastership till his death in 1682. At each of these later dates, the corporation records show that renewed efforts were made to obtain town control over the revenues.

The following is a list of the masters of St. John's after the death of Dr. Wake, with the year of their appointment:—

John Skelton, M.A. (Archdeacon of Bedford) ...	1682
James Gardiner	1704
Anthony Reynolds, Esq....	1741
John Kerrick, M.D.	1752
Robert Dowbiggin, B.A.	1762
George Hubbard, gent.	1795
Richard Pretyman	1814

PLATE VI.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 1. Seal of St. Andrew's Priory.

Fig. 2. Seal of Fraternity of the Rood in the Wood.

Fig. 3. Seal of St. James' Abbey.

Fig. 4. Seal of St. John's Hospital.

Fig. 5. Seal of St. Leonard's Hospital.

Three of these last seven masters were laymen. The revised charter of Charles I. did not absolutely prescribe that the master should be in holy orders, but only "persona graduata." The bishops of Lincoln were, however, quite unscrupulous in their appointment, three in the above list being non-graduates. Not one of these masters ever resided in the commodious and ancient master's house, but let both the building and gardens. Master Pretyman, one of the sons of Bishop Pretyman, of notorious pluralist fame, himself canon and precentor of Lincoln, etc., suffered the buildings, particularly the master's house, to get into disgraceful decay, notwithstanding the oath to maintain them at the time of his institution. He died in 1856.

The master's lodge or house lay about 60 yards to the east of the chapel and domicile. It was separated from the rest of the buildings by a public lane, called "Crakebellestrete," but the master and brethren obtained a royal licence in 1266 to include this old right of way in their grounds. In 1274 the town jury, at the great inquisition, charged the hospital with having wronged the community of this right of way, apparently ignorant of their having obtained due legal permission. This decayed house, which was full of interest, was unhappily pulled down in 1872 in connection with the Midland Railway scheme. The old chapel and chief domicile still remain, having been fortunately re-purchased by the Roman Catholics of the town.

Sir Henry Dryden printed a good paper descriptive of the architectural features of St. John's Hospital in the journal of the Associated Architectural Societies for 1874.

The convalescent home at Weston Favell now absorbs most of the revenues of this ancient and sadly-abused charity.

The hospital is usually spoken of as dedicated to St John Baptist, and occasionally to St. John the Evangelist. Both are wrong, the hospital having the highly unusual co-joint dedication to these two saints. The old hospital at Sherborne has a like dedication. The quaint and interesting thirteenth century seal (Plate VI., fig. 2) shows the two SS. Johns side by side. The legend in Lombardic capitals, is:—

SIGILL · HOSPITAL · SCI · JOHIS · BAPTISTE · ET · S · I · EWANG · DE NORHANT

In order that that there may be no mistake between the two figures, it will be noticed that the lettering over their heads reads, respectively, BAP and EWN

There are some rather remarkable references to the use of the chapel of St John's Hospital, in Bridge street, both in the St Sepulchre and All Saints' registers. The chapel of this old foundation was used from time to time, contrary to all usual custom and ecclesiastical law, for matrimonial as well as occasional burial and baptismal purposes. Not having any register of its own, it became necessary that these ecclesiastical incidents should be recorded elsewhere.

The St Sepulchre registers record the marriage of John Gibbs and Katherine Welsh, both of Welford, "at the chapel of St John Baptist in Northampton" on July 31st, 1670. On September 10th, 1690, John Mansell, of St. Alban's, Wood street, London, and Ann Rawlins, of Cosgrave, were married at the same place. A parishioner of St Sepulchre's and one of All Saints' were married in that chapel on March 10th, 1692, and there were two other marriages in 1706 and 1707 respectively.

The following entry occurs in the same register in 1700, wherein St John's is erroneously described as a parish:—

> 1700. Mr. John Skelton of the parish of St John Baptist in the Towne of Northampton and Isabell Hoare of the same Towne was married by me in the Church or Chappel of St John Baptist, January ye 1st day.

Among the burials occurs this entry:—

> 1704. Mr. John Skelton Archdeacon of Bedford was buried in the chappel of St John Baptist in the Towne of Northton April the 5th day.

In Bridge's *Northamptonshire* the following inscription is given as being on a free-stone near the altar:—'Here lyeth the body of John Skelton, Archdeacon of Bedford and Master of this Hospital, who dyed the 3rd of April, 1704.' This stone is now covered up by modern encaustic tiles.

The following entry (in the handwriting of Mr John Whitwham, Vicar of St Sepulchre's) serves to explain the connection between St John's Hospital and that church:—

"1702. Thomas Dickens of Passenham and Mary Gudgeon of the same was married in the chappell of St John Baptist, in Northton April ye 23rd day by me co-brother there." It shows that Josias Whitwham, besides being vicar of St Sepulchre's, was also chaplain of St. John's.

Hospital of St Thomas

It is generally believed that the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr was founded about 1450 by the burgesses of Northampton. It seems, however, certain that this was but the re-founding on a larger scale of an old foundation. St. Thomas à Becket was canonized in 1173. A separate chapel in his honour was soon afterwards built at Northampton, which was of sufficient importance to be confirmed to the priory of St. Andrew by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (1209-1235). There was also a fraternity of St. Thomas the Martyr in the town in the reign of Henry III. The hospital of St Thomas was situated in Bridge street, on the east side, immediately outside the town walls and gate, and in that part usually termed the south quarter.

From the middle of the fifteenth century the house was under the charge of the mayor and burgesses as trustees. It was founded for the support of twelve poor persons (men or women) as inmates, who were to receive a weekly allowance, with clothing, firing, and washing. The earlier records of the corporation show that the management of the hospital was deputed to two masters or wardens. One was elected each year, his period of office being for two years, during the first of which he was termed minor master, and during the last senior master.

On October 3rd, 1572, the assembly chose Mr Nayles and Mr. Frear to be "masters of Thomas house."

In 1584 it was agreed that the poor people of St Thomas' house should have yearly during the continuance of Duston lease a "peece of meadowe lying in the Abbotts meadowe called by the name of Mrs. Sharpolles Hook." At the same time entry was made that Mr. John Bycheno hath bestowed on the poor of the said house twenty shillings towards the buying of them a cow.

In 1592 the assembly resolved that no person should for the future be placed in St. Thomas' house without the good will and consent of the mayor and his brethren had been first obtained, together with the consent of the alderman and masters of the house.

On April 28th 1603, the assembly elected Thomas Potter, tanner, master of the hospital of St. Thomas for the next two years, being the younger master for the first year, and the elder master for the second and last year.

From this date onwards there are frequent entries of the appointment by the assembly at their October meeting of the

alderman of the hospital, who was generally continued in office from year to year, together with the appointment of the younger of the two masters for a period of two years.

At the October meeting of the assembly in 1603, Mr. Thomas Humfrey was appointed—

Alderman of the almeshouses or hospitall of St. Themas, and that Mr. Hugh Coles shall contynue and be one of the masters of the said almeshouses or hospitall for one yeare next ensueing to wit thelder master, and that Mr. Abraham Vesey [illegible] thother master for twoe years next also ensueing to wit the first yeare the younger master, and the second yeare thelder master, the saide masters to be accountable each of them respectivelie, as hath bene accustomed.

Instead of a chaplain, as in pre-Reformation days, the corporation was content to have prayers read by a layman, paying him a most mean salary.

William Browne, schoolmaster, who read daily prayer to the poor people in St. Thomas' hospital, had his annual stipend raised in 1617, from 16s. to 20s.

A bequest by Sir John Langham in 1654, of six hundred pounds to the corporation of Northampton, enabled the trustees of the hospital to relieve six poor widows, in addition to those already provided for; these six widows were to receive one-and-eightpence each weekly, and every second year a gown of broadcloth or kersey. A sum of three pounds thirteen and fourpence was to be yearly expended in a common fire for these six almswomen; one pound six and eight pence was to be paid to the vicar of All Saints or some other godly person, to instruct them in matters of religion; and the mayor and aldermen were to expend twenty shillings on June 6th on a collation of cakes and wine.

In 1635 power was given by the assembly to the alderman and wardens of St. Thomas' to contract leases of the property, and to transact other business.

The almswomen of St. Thomas petitioned the assembly in 1645 to be permitted to receive their weekly allowance in money instead of bread, so that they might "buye their bread at the best hand for their owne advantage." The petition was granted. At the same time Lawrence Cooke was approved and appointed to "the office of prayeing in the said howse everie day, and he to have the same allowance yearlie Mr. Young had."

"At an assemblie of the Maior Bailifs and Burgesses holden the xxxith of Maye, 1649. It is ordered upon the petition of the poore

of St Thomas Hospitall whoe want lynnen shifts, That for this tyme they that are most in need their shalbe furnished with necessarie shifts in lynnen by the master out of the Hospitall Rente and moneys."

There are various entries in the eighteenth century among the chamberlains' accounts of diverse small payments made towards the maintenance of this hospital, of which the two following will suffice as examples —

		s.	d.
1700	A kettle for ye alms house	17	8
1713	Hanging the Almes house bell	2	1

In 1711 it was enacted that the almsfolk of St. Thomas' hospital wear their gownes when they came up into the town; the chamberlains to refuse those coming to him for their money, if they were gownless.

The court of aldermen ordered, in 1714, that the inmates of St. Thomas' hospital wear their gowns, go to prayers, and reside and sleep in their rooms in the house. Any inmate refusing to obey the above orders was to lose the weekly allowance.

The poor women of the hospital were ordered, in 1716, to constantly attend the prayers of the house. Any one absent (save through sickness) to forfeit the weekly allowance.

In 1725 the warden was enjoined to be most strict in the enforcement of orders and rules, particularly with regard to the invariable wearing of the habit of the house.

In 1731 widow Hocknell was placed in "St. Thomas' Hospital abovestairs, on Mr. Langham's foundation, upon condition that she doe attend and frequent the weekly prayers in the Chappel of the said Hospital, and the publick Service of the Church of England on the Lords day, and ordered that the first time the said Widow Hocknell shall goe to any Conventicle or place of worship other than the aforesaid Chappel or Church of England that she be thereupon forthwith turned out of and removed from the said Hospital and that her pay doe from thereforward cease."

In the year 1800 ten extra out-pensioners (widows) were added to St. Thomas Hospital at £6 each, and it was resolved to expend 25s annualy in clothing the almswomen in the house in lieu of the allowance.

In the same year it was ordered that the chaplain to the alms-

house be allowed £5 per annum for his clerical duties instead of the £10 allowance to be paid him by the warden.

Part of the walls of St. Thomas Hospital were taken down in 1810 in order to make the adjacent road more commodious.

In 1810 the six almswomen above stairs had an increased allowance of sixpence a week granted them so as to make their allowance equal to that of the almswomen below stairs.

During the following year the 10 almswomen of the corporation all received an extra allowance of one shilling a week.

The assembly on October 7th, 1818 ordered an additional allowance of thirty shillings per annum to be paid to the thirty-six almswomen out of the house and that an increase of seven widows be made to the establishment.

In 1822 seven additional almswomen were added to the number of the out-pensioners of St. Thomas Hospital.

The hospital of St. Thomas occupied the site of the Plough Hotel and the approach to the new cattle market, opposite Weston street. This foundation was most unhappily removed to St. Giles street in 1834; the new buildings accommodating eight inmates who each receive 6s. a week, besides firing, and an allowance for clothes. The charity also supports sixty-one out-pensioners, who receive 5s. a week.

The old buildings and the chapel remained secularised for some forty years; the new cattle market, which was opened in 1873, necessitated their removal. The only relic of the old chapel of St. Thomas now extant, with which we are acquainted, is some remnants of old stained glass in the centre light of the small west window of the nave of St. Sepulchre's church. These were rescued by Mr. J. T. Irvine, clerk of the works for the restoration of that church, at a time when the old chapel of St. Thomas was used by a carriage builder.

The charity commissioners visited the buildings shortly before they were abandoned and reported that the hospital (in addition to a chapel and a common room) contained apartments for nineteen poor women, namely, twelve by the original establishment, one upon the foundation of Edward Elmer in 1502, and six provided for by Sir John Langham's endowment of 1654.

There is a good illustrated paper descriptive of these buildings by Sir Henry Dryden in the journal of the Associated Architectural Societies for 1876.

Langham Charity.

In 1652 John Langham, esquire, an alderman of London, born at Northampton, expressed his desire to give the corporation £500, provided they would undertake to spend £30 annually for some charitable use. The assembly resolved to accept the £500, and covenanted to make the £30 an annual charge on any land of the corporation as counsel might advise, and to spend the £30 as Alderman Langham might direct.

In August, 1653, "Mr Recorder of this towne, Mr Richard Rainsford Esquier Councell at law for this towne, Mr John Gifford, Mr Francis Rushworth, Mr Joseph Sargeant, Mr Peter Whalley, and Mr Daniel Reding Attorney for this towne, or anie fouer of them" were appointed a committee to confer and agree with Mr. Alderman Langham as to his proposed gift and the security to be given.

The result of this conference was that Mr Langham increased his gift to £600, and the corporation undertook to pay £6 per hundred (£36) yearly for the maintenance of six poor widows of the parish of All Saints, in the hospital of St Thomas. At the October meeting of the assembly, 1654, twelve members of the corporation were appointed feoffees for the due disposing of the money. The same twelve were also appointed feoffees to administer the £500 heretofore given by the late John Evans, a member of the corporation.

Sir Thomas White's Charity.

By far the most important of the town charities is that of Sir Thomas White. The following is the origin of its elaborate provisions.

On July 6th, 1547, an indenture was made between the corporation of Coventry and the wardens of the merchant tailors of the city of London (the corporation having purchased certain lands of the value of £70 per annum with £1400 given to them by Sir Thomas White, merchant tailor), whereby the corporation covenant with the merchant tailors, immediately after Sir Thomas White's death to pay £70 yearly in form following:—

To twelve poor men of Coventry, £24.

Yearly, after one year after his death, to deliver in free loan for ten years £40 to four young men of Coventry, to use by £10

a man for nine years, and so to others from nine years to nine years for ever.

After those ten years, then during thirty years to deliver £40 to two young men by £20, and so to other two from nine years to nine years for ever.

After the thirty years, then for one year £40 pounds to one young man for nine years, and so on.

During the second year after the end of the thirty years the corporation of Coventry were to pay £40 to the corporation of Northampton, who were to lend the same by equal portions to four young men of their town of good name, fame, and condition for nine years.

At the end of the nine years to four other young men, and so on for ever.

Then it is appointed to Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick for one year in order.

Then again in order to Coventry, Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick, one after another, until a hundred years be expired.

After one hundred years, then the whole £40 to be put out in order as aforesaid, to one man for nine years, and so on for ever.

Sir Thomas White died February 11th, 1566, aged 72.

The general estate of this charity, of which the corporation of Coventry are the trustees, in course of time increased considerably in value, with the not unnatural result that the complicated plans for its division amongst different towns led to much litigation.

The question as to whether the surplusage of the rents and profits above the £70 per annum should go to the city of Coventry or to the general benefit of the charity, was referred to chancery in 1695, and it was not until 1712 that it was eventually settled in favour of the charity. The corporation of Coventry were bound to pay over to the corporation of Northampton every fifth year four-sevenths of the clear rents and profits. From 1712 the amount of each loan was £50, till the year 1805, when the rents and accumulations had so much increased that chancery gave permission for the amount of each loan to be raised to £100.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the references to this charity in the town records are numerous.

In 1703 two aldermen and the mace bearer went to Coventry

from him to the corporation ever since he was mayor, for which sum he had been from time to time asked, and promised but failed to pay He was warned that unless he paid at once what was due from him as mayor and treasurer of Sir Thomas White's loan money by Martinmas, that action at law would be taken against him without further notice.

The applicants for Sir Thomas White's money were frequently considerably in excess of the number of sums that could be granted. There are various incidental references to this natural condition of things in the various earlier orders, etc., relative to this charity It is not, however, until 1771 that we meet with any lists of candidates. Among the miscellaneous documents is "A List of the persons to whom the 17 £50, part of St Thomas White's money were granted at an Assembly held before the Worp^ll Saml Sturgis Esqr Mayor the 23^d May, 1771." On this occasion there were twenty-seven applicants. The assembly seems to have voted on almost every name, the highest of the successful candidates candidates received 63 votes, and the lowest 37. Two of the successful applicants received no votes, but the word "member" is written by the side, from which it appears that the evil, if not illegal habit then prevailed of accepting without a vote the application of those who were members of the assembly

In 1793 there were thirty applicants for the twenty-three £50 then to be granted. The highest on the poll of the successful candidates received 58 votes, and the lowest 30 At the bottom of the town clerk's poll sheet is the following:—Wm Sutton being a Member of the Corp^n it is granted to him of course exclusive of the above 23."

Three years later there were forty-five £50 to be lent, but as six members of the corporation applied, the number for which the assembly polled was reduced to thirty-nine. For these loans there were as many as one-hundred-and-ten applicants. The highest of the winning candidates received 70 votes.

It was agreed on August 10th, 1797, to defray the expenses of the mayor and town clerk's journey to Coventry, there to receive the proportion of Sir Thomas White's money due at old Ladyday, 1796, from the corporation of Coventry, and to affix the common seal to a bond for the due application of the money

In 1799 the town clerk was requested to write to the town clerk of Coventry, stating the desire of the corporation to put out Sir

Thomas White's charity in £100 loans instead of £50, and asking if Coventry will join with Northampton in taking the necessary steps to effect such a change. At another assembly of the same year the town clerk was directed to state a case on this subject to the deputy recorder, and to obtain his opinion. In 1802 the corporation decided to take steps in the court of chancery to obtain the desired alteration, the opinion of the deputy recorder (Mr. Perceval), the attorney general, being favourable to such a course. After the usual legal delay, the corporation obtained their desire, and thirty-two loans of £100 each were granted in April, 1806, "in pursuance of the Decree of the Court of Chancery dated the 7th December last."

In 1833, when reform was in the air, a corporation committee of audit urgently recommended the cessation of a party of the Northampton corporation going yearly to Coventry to receive the money, and when there entertaining the corporation of Coventry to dinner at the expense of the charity. They recommended that only the mayor, mayor-elect, and town clerk attend, and that the dinner to the Coventry corporation be discontinued.

The commissioners on municipal corporations, who visited Northampton in 1834, commented most adversely upon the administration of this charity. After stating that the loans are granted by the majority of votes in the common hall, on application by the freemen desirous of obtaining them, it is added that sufficient notice of the distribution was not afforded, the only notice being a circular to the members of the corporation, and none to the public. They further stated that the loans were considered entirely a matter of patronage; that although the founder directed his charity to be applied to the benefit of "young men of good name fame and condition," the loans have not been limited to young men or those setting up in business; that they have been granted to persons settled in trade, to men advanced in life, and in opulent circumstances; that recently loans had been granted to an attorney in good practice who kept hunters, and to an alderman who was a coach-builder; that when members of the corporation apply they receive loans as a matter of course; and that, on the other hand, very poor persons in receipt of parish relief have had the grants. They further reported that the White charity was flagrantly and openly used for political ends; that the number of White loans granted from 1822 to 1834 was 182, and that only nine of that

number voted against the Tory or corporation candidate at parliamentary elections.

Freeman's Charity.

The orders of the assembly contain two references to the Freeman charity.

It was reported to the assembly in March, 1637-8, that £500, part of the £1000 given by the late Mr. Ralph Freeman, lord mayor of London, to set the poor on work had come to hand It was agreed to employ it in (1) "spinninge for cloathes," (2) "bondlace makeinge," and (3) "knittinge," "the same to be put into good sufficient undertakers handes."

In 1640 the assembly voted 40s to Mr. Thomas Martin to defray his expenses in presenting a petition to parliament against Sir George Sandes for the £500 detained of the late Alderman Freeman's gift of £1000.

The Free Grammar School.

The Northampton free grammar school was founded by Thomas Chipsey, grocer, of Northampton, in 1551. He conveyed to Lawrence Manley, and nineteen other persons, as trustees, all his lands in Holcot, Coton, and Pitsford, under condition that after his death they should provide a fit master to teach grammar within the town to such boys who might desire to learn the same, without any charge; that they should pay a yearly stipend of £9 to the master; and that they should pay 10s. a year to such of the boys as should be nominated by the wardens of the fraternity of the Blessed Mary to sing at mass in the chapel of our Lady within the church of All Saints. The residue of the revenues, if any, were to be used for the repair and maintenance of the pavement of the market place

Lawrence Manley, the chief trustee, was at that time the foremost burgess of Northampton; he had already been twice mayor, and twice again filled that office after this date.

The appointment of the master to the school was vested in the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, with the power that if the schoolmaster should be at any time negligent in his duties, and did not after warning within a month amend his conduct he should forfeit 20s., and that if he did not amend within two months it should be lawful for the mayor and commonalty to remove him from his office

The first reference that we have met with to the free school in the orders of assembly is in the year 1565, when it was agreed that Mr. Thackary, schoolmaster of the free school, and his successor, should be paid yearly £10—payment to be made quarterly by the chamberlains out of the free school rents. The chamberlains were to collect the rents and place the overplus to the use of the chamber.

The school was then sufficiently appreciated to require the services of a second master. The assembly that met on March 12th, 1568, resolved to chose certain men out of their number to "enquire and aske of all men as well off the towne as off the country their benevolence towardes a ussher for the Free scole."

The first business transacted by the assembly on July 14th, 1584, was an order "that there shalbe a letter directed to the L. Bishoppe of Peterborowe for the procureinge and getteing of the vicaredge of St. Mareis towards the maintenance and kepeinge of one ussher for the Teachinge of Chyldren at the Freescolle unto Mr. Saunderson, But yff the same vicaredge cannot be obteyned at the Byshoppes handes, then yt ys agreed that Saunderson shall provyde a Sufficient ussher, and he to have Twentie Shillinges a quarter paide hym owte of the Chamber of the Towne Towardes his maintenance." It does not appear that the vicarage of this deserted church was secured for the school, for in 1598 its small endowment was annexed to that of All Saints.

In 1598 there was no usher at the free school, and consequently a usual payment from Duston manor of 53s. 4d for the maintenance of an usher ceased.

The free school was repaired in 1605 at the charge of the corporation, and the walls about the schoolyard were mended, and doors with locks provided, so that the yard could be shut up every night after sunset.

The freedom of the town was granted for 20s., in 1607, to Symon Wastell, master of the free school, "at his earnest suite and for some special respects."

It was ordered by the assembly, in 1612, that Mr. Wastell should have the same allowance made him for an usher to assist him in teaching the farmers' children as was granted to his predecessor, Mr Saunderson.

The next entry is an order of assembly on Dec. 15th, 1631.—

Imprimis wheare Mr Wastell nowe schoolemaster of the freeschoole in this towne in respect of his weakenes and Sicknes wherbye he is unable to supplie his place doeth give waye for the choice of a new schoole-m' to succeed him, Provided he may Leave the proffits thereto belonging while he liveth, It is agreed and ordered that Mr. Shorland Recorder Mr Lane the Towne Councell and Mr. Ball Minister and M' S^n shalloe moved to inquire out a sufficient schoole M' and to prefer one to this assemblie to be by them liked of and approved.

Mr Wastell had made his will in the previous August, bequeathing his body to be buried at All Saints, and his small property to his wife Elizabeth, and to his children Samuel, Simon, Hannah, and Mary He did not live long after the assembly had granted him a pension, his burial appearing in the All Saints' registers under January 31st, 1631-2 His son Simon, born in 1603, was appointed vicar of Daventry in the year of his father's death.

On April 6th, 1632, the assembly appointed Daniel Rogers, M.A., master of the free school in the place of Mr. Wastell, deceased

The following order was made on March 27th, 1634:

Item it is agreed that the floore and benches and deskes belonginge to the freeschoole shalbe forthwith repaired at the chamber charge and that at the same charge all other necessarye reparacons there remayninge to do for the deckinge and beautifying of the schoole shalbe forthwith done at the same charge.

It was ordered in 1635 that the sum of £8 allowed for the maintenance of an usher in the free school should cease; but in 1636 this order was reversed, and a yearly grant of £8 made.

In 1640 the assembly decided that for the future the master of the free school should repair his own house, and that it should no longer be done at the expense of the chamber.

In 1641 it was ordered that "there shalbe a new schoolmaster sought upon for the towne before the Anunciation of our Ladie next and that Mr. Rogers in the meane tyme shalle provide for himselfe otherwise."

At a later assembly of the same year it was agreed that Mr. Martin, minister of Horton, who had been elected master of the free school was not to be debarred from the execution of his ministerial office, notwithstanding any previous order to the contrary. At the same time it was ordered that the free school and houses belonging to the school should be forthwith repaired at the town charge, but that the schoolhouse was henceforth to be kept in sufficient repair by the schoolmaster.

Although formally elected, Mr. Martin does not seem to have exercised the office of schoolmaster even for the briefest period, probably finding it incompatible with his ministerial duties at Horton. Meanwhile Mr. Rogers, who was appointed rector of Wootton in 1647, for a short interval resumed the work

In April, 1642, Mr Goodricke, minister of Houghton, was appointed free school master in the room of Mr. Rogers, provided that he shall not at any time preach or use his ministerial office, but whollie lend his Studdies to the proffit of the Schoole."

In 1643 it was ordered that a yearly payment of £8 be made to the usher of the free school.

On December 14th, 1646, it was "agreed and ordered that Ferdinando Archer being wortherlie commended by men of bearing and judgement shalbe free schoolemaster of the freeschoole of this towne, and that a letter shalbe sent to him to hasten him downe to take the schoole upon him."

In April, 1648, the assembly voted £10 to the needful reparation of the dwelling house belonging to the master of the free school, and ordered that the master, Ferdinando Archer, should have yearly paid him out of the chamber towards the maintenance of an usher, from the time he had one, as high an allowance as has ever been made to his predecessors for a like purpose. It was further ordered that he have the same common rights for cattle as if he were a freeman.

Though not so stated in the town documents, Mr Archer was a master of arts, and no mean scholar, as is proved by his spirited rendering into English of Dr. Ford's Latin poem on the great fire of Northampton. It is called "The Fall and Funeral of Northampton," and is modestly said to be written by "F.A., M A, a sad spectator of that frightful scene."

After forty years of service, Mr. Archer became incapacitated, and the assembly, on January 3rd, 1695-6, accepted Mr. Styles as usher, on the nomination of the Wentworth trustees, undertaking that he should succeed Mr. Archer as master when a vacancy occurred. The resolution is thus worded :—

Upon a motion made at this assembly for the Electing a Scholemaster for the Free Schole of this Towne of Northton And a Note being read in these words following, vizt. Wee do consent and agree (if Mr. Styles the Schoolemaster of Buckingham shall be Elected by Mr. Wentworths Trustees to be Usher of the Freeschole of this Towne of Northton) That the said Mr. Styles be Scholemaster

of the said Freeschole after the death of Mr Archer, and the matter being fully debated It is the unanimous desire of this house That the said Mr Styles bee invited to come to the Towne and accept of the Schole as now it is.

In 1698 the chamberlain's accounts show a payment of £10 to Mr. Styles, the schoolmaster. In the same year a bill of £1 3s. 10d for glazing the windows of the free school was discharged.

The free schoolyard walls were much damaged through the severe weather of the winter of 1702-3, and parts fell down. The aldermen's court ordered the chamberlains to repair and build them up at the town's charge, and also to attend to the "colering of the Schoole as soon as tyme serves."

In 1710 it was ordered that the two bills of Mr. Styles, schoolmaster, for making a doorway into the free school out of the south lane be paid this time by the chamberlain, but to be no precedent.

Mr Styles resigned in 1719; he had been appointed vicar of Little Billing in 1717.

In 1720 the chamberlain was instructed by the court of aldermen to pay to Rev. Robert Styles, late master of the free school, £4 8s. 7d., being money expended by him from time to time in repairing the school windows during the term of his mastership.

To Mr Styles succeeded Rev. John Clarke.

At an assembly held in September, 1748, Rev. Richardson Wood, M.A., was elected master of the free school in the room of the Rev. John Clarke, deceased.

Mr. Wood was followed in 1764 by Rev. W. Williams, who gave but little satisfaction.

The assembly, in October, 1765, dismissed Rev. W. Williams from the grammar school mastership for non-residence and wholly neglecting his duties. In the following month they elected Rev. Samuel Rogers as his successor "as long as he shall behave well and conform to the Rules of the said School." Mr. Rogers resigned in 1769, whereupon the assembly elected in his place Rev. Thomas Woolley.

In 1797 the assembly secured a good man for the mastership in Rev John Stoddart, who held the office for thirty years, and proved a conspicuous success, notwithstanding his blindness.

In October, 1812, a committee was appointed to examine into the dilapidations of the free grammar school, the school house, and all other buildings belonging to that foundation.

In 1817 the corporation committee for superintending the management of the free grammar school were requested "to publish the rules of the said School, and the endowments settled for the report thereof."

The mayor, in 1818, presented a petition on August 6th, from the Rev. John Stoddart, respecting the repairs of the free grammar school. The petition was referred to the next assembly, and Mr. Stoddart was requested in the meantime to make out an account of the receipts and expenditure of the establishment, together with a list of the names of the boys who have been there educated.

At the next assembly a committee of eleven members of the house was appointed to confer with the Rev. John Stoddart. The committee presented their report in January, 1819, and after it had been read it was ordered "that every further search be made for the deed of gift of the scite of Saint Gregory's Church for a Free School, and that the Town Clerk do employ such person or persons as he may think proper to make such search in London, and that the committee do report their progress to some future Assembly."

After the death of Mr. Stoddart in 1827, the school fell into much disrepute so far as its original foundation was concerned.

When the charity commissioners held their inquiry there were actually only three free scholars, and the average number for some years had been only eight; but there were many boarders, and about thirty paying scholars.

The commissioners on municipal corporations in 1834, reported that the annual rental of the estate was £113, and that an annual gift from the corporation of £4 5s. (which can be traced back so far as the chamberlain's accounts go) brought up the assured income to £117 5s. Of that sum £20 a year went to the usher, and the remainder to the master. The master was thus receiving nearly £100 a year, as well as a rent-free house from the original endowment, intended solely for free education, but the number of free scholars was limited to twenty-five, who were admitted by a committee of the corporation. The commissioners further reported that between 1828 and 1832 (both inclusive), fifty-two boys had been admitted as free scholars, and that only ten of the fathers of these boys had voted against the corporation candidate.

The Corporation and Education.

In addition to their management of the free grammar school,

the corporation interested itself in other ways in education. A few references of this character are scattered throughout the records.

In 1557 the assembly agreed that John Flowers, parish clerk of All Saints, should have his freedom upon condition "that he shall serve diligentlie in the churche and teache children and no longer."

This order may refer to teaching children in the church on the Sunday. It is of special interest as being the first, of which we have any record, in connection with All Saints, after that church had been placed in the hands of the corporation by Cardinal Pole.

There are several charity schools of which the corporation are trustees. They are united together in one trust.

The Dryden and Herbert free charity, or Orange school, was founded in 1710, and augmented in 1734, for the clothing, educating, and apprenticing of twenty boys.

The Blue Coat school, now held in conjunction with the above was founded about 1753, chiefly by the handsome donation of £1200 from James, earl of Northampton. Several smaller sums and legacies being added, the corporation purchased an estate at Bugbrooke. This estate was conveyed in 1755 to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, upon trust that they should pay one-third part of the rents to the treasurer of the charity school, and expend the other two-thirds in clothing such a number of poor freemen on May 29th, as the rents would allow, giving to such poor freemen 10s. in money. The indentures further directed that the selection of the scholars and the poor freemen was to be left to the court of aldermen.

To this trust was also united, in 1761, an annual rental of £26, issuing out of lands in Leicestershire, the gift of Gabriel Newton, and intended for the clothing and education of twenty-five poor boys, to be called Green Coat boys, in the corporation charity school.

On November 2nd, 1796, the assembly

Ordered that the Charity School Boys and poor Men Clothed annually on the 29th of May have in future good ground Lamb Leather Breeches not exceeding fourteen shillings a pair, and that they be clothed in good Cloth at 3s. 6d. a yard and flat yellow Mettal Buttons thereto.

The amalgamated corporation charity school was in Bridge street; it was taken down and rebuilt in 1811.

Mr. Philip Constable in his mayoralty (1811) gave notice of moving that a piece of ground belonging to the corporation be granted to certain trustees, for the purpose of making a school

house for educating poor children, "upon the plan invented by Joseph Lancaster, and patronised by Her Majesty and the Royal Family." The motion was, however, eventually withdrawn.

In the following year Mr. Justice Smith proposed that the house should co-operate with the Northamptonshire society in conceding measures for affording accommodation in the charity school, in Bridge street, for the introduction of the Madras system of education, for instructing the poor in the principles of the established church. But a ballot was demanded, and the proposition negatived.

The salary of the master of the Bridge street charity school was, in 1813, increased from £50 to £84 per annum.

Amidst the very grave fault found with the corporation by the municipal commission of 1834 as to much of their administration, it is satisfactory to find that they are commended for their generosity with regard to the charity schools, although only six boys had been admitted whose parents had voted against the corporation candidate between 1828 and 1833. The corporation had recently spent £2300 of their own funds on new schools and school house, and they contributed about £70 a year as subscriptions.

Among the separate papers of the town muniments is a curious and interesting proposal for furthering education by some would-be benefactor, which is unfortunately unsigned and undated. It seems to us, from a variety of reasons, to be about the date of 1725. It is here given verbatim:—

To the Magistrates of Northampton.

Gentlemen,

Having considered with myselfe that there are many Free Schools for the teaching of the Latin Tongue, and none that I can hear of to teache poure mens children to read English, And that they must first read English before they can learn Latin, I have therefore, according to my small Talent, intended to have Twenty children taught gratis in yo' Towne And therefore you to gett some auncient woman of yo' Towne to teach them, and I allow her 4ᵗᵇ per Annum for her paines, not tying her to teach noe more, but that she may gett as many as she can, and bee paid for them. Only that she shall teach those 20 which you shall send to her Boyes or Girles of the poorest mens as you shall appoynt. And if any of these 20 dye or goe away that you supply the number, that soe 20 may still be taught, and therefore shall send Bookes for them to Learn in viz'

20 Horne Bookes	20 Bibles
20 Primers	20 Catechises
20 Psalters	20 Writing Bookes

I desire that they may not be given them all at one time but as they shall be fitt for them, for else they will spoil them before they come to learn them. I desire alsoe that these 20 Children be taught to write. That halfe an hour after Tenn o Clock they goe to the writeing schoole and continue there till 12 And he to have for his paines 50' per annum, 12' 6d the Quarter.

I desire also 20 poore men and women such as ye shall appoint may have each Sunday a loafe of Breud if they come to Church or be not hindered by Sicknesse or Age.

And that it may be the better Bread for them I desire that when wheat is best cheape, there may be soe much bought as may serve them for the whole yeare, and that it be Baked for them (but not at the Bakehouse) that soe it may be the bigger, not to be sifted for I hope Poore People will not desire better Bread than is made of Wheate That I present these things to yo' consideration and if you thinke fitt to take soe much Paines as to see them done I hope God will reward you for it and I shall be very thankfull for yo' Paines and pray God to give his Blessing to it.

I desire that the Children may be taught their Catechises twice a weeke Tuesdays and Thursdays when they are fitt to Learn them, Alsoe when they can read in the Bibles that they may have them to Church with them and that they read them at home before their Parents at least 3 times in the weeke, for Parents are ofttymes taken more with their Children reading, than with that they hear at Church.

And because I live out of London and know not where to send to the Carryers that you would appoint somebody in London to call for the Bookes and money at my Sonnes Shop at the Black Boy in Lombard streete at St Clement Lane End a Wollendraper his name M' Joseph Smart, and that they give an Acquittance that they rec^d soe many Bookes and soe much money for yo' Towne And when you have rec^d it That you send a writeinge under yo' Town Seale that you wilbe carefull to see it disposed off according to what I have writt.

The Bookes are as before, and the money you shall receyve 4^li for the Schoolemistriss and 4^li 6^s 8^d for to buy Corne for the Poore for Bread vizt 20^d a Sunday wch comes to 4^li 6^s 8^d a yeare at 20^d per weeke 52 weekes.

I have not sent money for the writeing Master because he cannot begin till they can reade, And then if you will write to me I will send it by whom you shall appoint to receive it.

And thus shall I doe every yeare as long as God shall continue my life, and doubt not but my Sonn, if you be carefull to see it done well, will continue it.

And thus, gentlemen, I leave all to God's Blessing and yo' Care and say as David in the first of the Chronicles 29 Chap 14 verse of thine owne have I given thee etc.

On March 13th, 1817, a special assembly was called by a requisition from twenty members of the house, for the purpose of considering the advisability of electing a fit and proper person as master of the corporation charity schools, in the place of Mr. Elkington, the present master.

A motion to appoint another master in the room of Mr. Elkington was, however, negatived on ballot, by a majority of 48 to 11.

Tables of Benefactions.

In the upper lobby of the town hall are a series of benefaction boards; the following is a transcript of the oldest:—

A Catalogue of those who have bine Worthy Benefactors to the Town of North' Made in the yeare of the Right Worthy Tho Martin Maior, being the Secod time of his Maiorality Ano Dni 1625

Mr. Thomas Chipsey three Mayor of Northampton was the Founder of the Free schoole of the same Towne and gave Landes to maintaine a Schoolmaster to teach Gramar Freehe to Freemens Childeren And to maintaine the new Pavements And to the Maior of North' for the time being Fovre Shillings to see the same pformed yearlie for euer Sir Thomas White knight Marchant Taylor of London hath previded that there shalbe paide by the Maior of Coventrie out of Landes every fifth yeare Fourtie Powndes to be lent amongst foure young men freelie for Nyne yeares And from Nyne yeares to Nyne yeares for euer untill C yeares be expired And after C yeares the xl' to be paid still euery fifth yeare And then to be put out to one man for Nyne yeares And so from Nyne yeares to Nyne yeares for euer. Mr John Quarrior gaue out of his Landes Thirteene Shillings fourpence p. annum to the poore of this towne for euer. Mr. Thomas Wheathe late Alderman of the City of Coventrie deceassed did giue this Corporation One Hundred Pownds to be lent amongst the poore Artificers here by L' to a man or under yearlie at 6' P' (5 per pound) for euer. Mr Edward Elmer late Citizen and Grocer of London gave fortie Pownds to be lent to eight tradesmen by v' a man for two years upon allowance of vi' in the Pownd yearlie for ye poor for euer, and gaue landes to the value of iij' p. anum to ye Hospitall of St Thomas for euer

Mr Lawrence Baylie gave Land to the value of xl' p anum to the Freeschoole for ever. Mr Thos Craswell foore times Maior of this Towne gave Fittie Pounds to be lett out and ye encrease thereof is to goe to ye mariage of a poore Maid yearlie he gave xiii' a weeke to ye poore for ever And xx' p. anum to y' Schools M' out of his Landes for ever. John Freeman Esquire gave one Hundred Pounds to be lent freely amongst xxvi honest Tradsmen by v' and iij' a man yearely for ever.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord Euen soe saith the spirit for they rest from their labours And their works folow them. Revel Cap 14. Vers. 13

M'' Agnes Chipsey widowe gave an Annaitie of Eight Poundes per annum to goe out of her Landes for ever towards payment of fifteenes and other charitable uses. Mr. John Neale once Maior of this towne gave Twoe pence a peice to Thirteene poore people evrie Sunday weekly for ever. Mr. Henrie Prior gave out of his Landes Thirty shillinges p. annum to the poore of this towne for ever And was confirmed by Steven Harvie Esquire deceassed. M'' Agnes Hopkins wife of M' Tho. Hopkins twice Maior of this towne. gave Landes to yo value of iij' or thereabouts p. anum to goe to ye poore of this towne for ever.

Mr Raphe Freeman now Alderman of London gave land to the Free Schoole ever to ye use of the Free School M'.

Mr. Ralph Freeman aforesaid gave alsoe land and ye proffts and Rents thereof are to buy ij^{s} worth of Bread weekly for ever to be given to fourteene poore folks Mr. Richard Elkington of Shawell in ye countie of Leicest gent. did give fiftie pounds to be lent in loane to five poore Artificers here by x^{l} a peice from yeare to yeare upon allowance of xij^{d} in the pounds to charitable uses for ever. Mr. John Bryan thrice Maior of this towne gave Landes to ye value of xxx^{s} p. anum to St. Thomas Hospital for ever.

Mr. Thomas Burton gave One Hundred Pounds to be lent in loane yearlie to Tenne poore Artificers by Tenne Pounds a man upon allowance of xij^{d} in the pound yearlie to charitable uses for ever. Mr. William Andrew of Denton gave an Annuitie of iij^{l} for ever for the burying of poore prisoners.

The second benefaction board records the following bequests :—

A Catalogue of those who hathe Worthy Benefactors bin tothe Towne of Northt Made in the yeare of the Right Wor^{ll} Tho Collins Maior Ano Dni 1660. Sir Ralph ffreeman Merchant and Citizen of London gave to the Towne of Northt ye sume of One Thousand poundes for ye use of ye poore of St Tho Hospitall in ye said Towne Whereof there were But only 500^{l} Received by the said towne.

Cuthbert Ogle Esq. gave 100^{l} to this corporacion to the end they should pay upon every St. Tho day yearely for ever to xxx poore peeple the sume of vi pounds by 4^{s} a peice.

Mr. William Knight Alderman of this towne gave 50^{l} to pay ½ yearly for ever to xx poore widdowes by 3^{s} a peice.

John Evans of this towne Sadler gave ye sume of 500^{l} to the intent y^{t} 30 yeares after his wifes decease the Towne should pay yearely for ever ye Sume of 30^{l} for ye placeing of sixe poore children to be apprentices

Mrs. Beatris Ogle of this Towne gave ye sume of 4^{l} to be payed yearely for ever upon Shrove Tuesday to ye poor of ye towne and likewise 20^{s} more yearely for ever to ye Minester of All Sts for a sermon to bee preached yearely on good ffryday.

Sir John Langham Alderman of London gave to this towne ye sume of 600^{l} the interest of which to be for ye yearely maintenance of vi poore widdowes to be added to ye Hospitall of St Tho in ye said towne.

Mr. Nicholas Rothwell Citizen of london gave ye sume of 400^{l} to ye use of ye poore of ye 4 prshes of ye towne viz.: All Sts, St sepulchres, St giles, and St peters.

Mr. Mathew Sillesby once Maior of this Towne gave Severall Lands and Tenemt^{s} lyeing in North of the vallue of Tenn Pounds p. anum or thereabouts towards the maintenance of Two Poore Widowes of the Parish of All Saints for ever.

Given by Thomas Blomley of Easton-Mawditt in the County of Northton Gent. the sume of 100^{ll} to ye use of ye poore of ye towne of Northton for ever. And given by his brother Brian Blomley Gent. ye sume of 50^{l} for ye same uses which 150^{ll} with 100^{ll} of Mr. Rothwells given to ye poore of All Sts Parish and 50^{l} received of Robert Hesilrige of Northton Esqr. for some of waste ground (sold to him) adjoining to ye Castle hills and Castle Orchard in Northton was Lay^{e}d out

the Mayor and Aldermen of Northton should think most convenient to Charitable use within the said town Reserving an Allowance out of ye same for a Sermon to be preached one day in Christmas

Mrs Rebecca Clifford Widow and Relict of Mr. Richard Clifford by her will dated 19 Jun 1718 Gave 10 Pound Per annum for ever out of her house in ye Drapery to be yearly disposed to 2 wives or widows of decayed Aldermen Bailiffs & Burgesses, And also gave 10l Per ann for ever out of her house and Ground in St Giles Parish to be disposed amongst the Poor of Northampton

Mrs. Beatrice Ogle Relict of Cuthbert Ogle Esq left 4£ p annum issuing out of Cockwell Hall in Parrish of All Saints in Northampton, Now known by the name of St Edmund Brays to be distributed Yearly for ever at Shrove Tide to ye poor of Northampton

Mr Samuel Wolaston of Thorp Constartine in Staffordshire clerk by his will dated 20 feb 19 Cha 2d gave fifty Shillings out of his Lands in Northampton after the Decease of his Neice Jane Nelson (who died in 1702) which lands lye near the North Gate there now in the possession of Mr John Percivall to be disposed of amongst the poor of Northampton Yearly by the Minister of All Saints Parish and the Mayor of Northampton

Mr Mathew Sidesby of Northampton by his will dated 18 April 1662 devised (amongst other things) a Close in St Edmunds End in Northampton of 5£ a year and ye of a Close in St John's Lane of 12 Shillings a Year and ye Yearly Sum of 5 Shillings which is issuing out of part of the dwelling house of Mrs. Woolston in Newland to Charitable uses for ever.

Mr John Ball of Northampton Sadler by his will gave 50£ the Interest thereof being to cloath 6 poor Widows of the parish of All Saints in Northampton in the manner mentioned in his will which 50£ were paid by his Executors into the Corporation and a bond was given them for the due Application of the interest thereof accordingly on St. Thomas's day yearly for ever.

Mr Joseph Woolston twice Mayor of Northampton by his Will dated in 1753 (amongst other charitable Bequests) gave 200£ for the Benefit of the Corporation Charity School.

A fourth board is thus inscribed :—

Thos Craswell Esq Four Times Mayor of Northampton (amongst other things) gave twenty shillings a year to the Master of the freeschool there which is issuing out of A house and Ground lying behind it in the North End at Northampton, and fifty pounds in money the Loan or Interest whereof is directed to be given Yearly towards the preferment of a poor Maid of Northampton in Marriage and to have Continuance for ever.

Mr George Coles of Northampton who died in January 1640 gave the Rents of Houses and Lands in Northampton, which are now about fourteen pounds seventeen shillings a Year all of them being ground Rents and will improve at the expiration of Leases (Except the Rent of a house on the South side of Gold Street in the occupation of John Cooper Carpenter) to charitable uses in Northampton for ever.

Mr John Evans of Northampton Sadler gave £500 at the End of Thirty Years after his Death the Loan or Interest whereof is employed in placing out Poor Boys of Northampton Yearly Apprentices and to have Continuance for ever.

John Langham Esq Alderman and Merchant of London 1654 Pd £600 into the Corporation of Northampton the Interest whereof which is settled at 6 p Cent is to be Yearly applyed for the Maintenance of Six poor people above Stairs in St Thomas's Hospital there and is secured by Deeds of Demise and Redemise on great part of the Meadows called the Town Commons.

A fifth board contains record of the following gifts :—

William Stratford Doctor of Laws and Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Richmond in the Diocese of Chester and a Native of Northampton by his Will (amongst other Legacys) gave 100' for the Benefit of the aforesaid Corporation Charity School at Northampton.

William Cartwright of Aynho Esqr gave 50' in his life time for the Benefit of the same Corporation Charity School at Northampton.

The Right Honourable James, Earl of Northampton Recorder there gave 200' in his lifetime in 1754 for the Benefit of the same Charity School.

The Right Honourable James Earl of Northampton by his Letter directed to Alderman Tompson then Mayor dated May the 1st 1754 Worded in manner as Follows I desire your Acceptance of one Thousand Pounds to be applyed for the Benefit and by Order of the Corporation of Northampton which Thousand Pounds were ordered by the Mayor Aldermen Bailiffs and Burgesses to be and was laid out by them amongst other moneys in the Purchase of a Farm at Bugbrook.

M^r. Thomas Chipsey of the Town of Northampton Grocer settled certain Lands lying in Holcott in Northamptonshire in Trust to provide an Honest and sufficient Learned Master freely to teach Grammar to such Children or Persons of Freemen of the town of Northampton as should wish or desire to Learn the same Freely without any Stipend to be taken.

M^r. Ralph Freeman Citizen and Alderman of London and other Benefactors also settled several Houses and other Hereditaments for the Benefit of the said School.

And Paul Wentworth of Lillingston Lovell in the County of Oxon Esqr for the advancement of Learning Granted and charged his Estate at Lillingstone Dayrell Bucks with a clear annual payment of twenty Pounds towards the maintenance of an Usher to be assistant to the Master of the said School in teaching the Scholars Latin, good Writing, and Arithmetick.

There are also boards giving the following particulars relative to three special charities :—

COLES CHARITY.

By Indentures dated the 20 of Aug and 1st of Sep 1640 George Coles of Northampton Gentleman did convey certain Estates in Northampton Upon Trust that the Trustees for the time being should distribute annually on the Thursday next after the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary the sum of 10£ viz £5 to the Poor of the Parish of All Saints £2 to to the Poor of the Parish of St Sepulchres where the said George Coles lived and was buried £2 to the poor of the parish of St Giles 1£ to the poor of the parish of St Peter in Northampton and directed a Sermon to be preached on the same Day the Preacher to be paid

£1 And Upon further Trust to divide the residue of the Rents etc among such Poor Persons of Northampton at such times and in such manner as the Trustees should think fit.

17th Jany. 1811.	John Agutter Gent. William Marshall Druggist. Philip Constable Esq. Ald^n James Miller. Ald^n Charles Freeman. John Hall Gent.

At which time the Rents of the Charity Estates amounted to £41 per Ann.

DR. STRATFORD'S CHARITY.

By Indentures dated on or about the 16 of July 1753 William Stratford LLD late of Lancaster, Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Richmond (amongst many other Charitable bequests) Gave to certain Trustees therein named the sum of Five Hundred Pounds the Interest or Produce of which to be appropriated by them and their successors for ever for placing out Poor Boys and Girls apprentice and for the relief of Poor industrious persons belonging to the Parish of All Saints in this town.

The said Five Hundred Pounds was laid out in the purchase of an estate at Helmdon in this County which is now lett for 123£ per Annum.

The present trusteee are—

March 25th 1812.	John Agutter Esq Ald Charles Freeman Ald Philip Constable John Hall Gent

ALLEN'S CHARITY.

Mr. John Allen late of Northampton Plumber and Glazier deceased by his Will dated 6 July 1822 gave and bequeathed to his Executors Hugh Higgins and Christopher Chowler One Thousand Pounds upon trust for the benefit of any Public Charity or Public Charities within the said Town of Northampton at the discretion of the said Executors who in pursuance of the Trust so reposed in them placed the sum of Nine Hundred Pounds (being the clear surplus after payment of the Legacy duty) upon Mortgage of Freehold Land in the names of themselves, and George Osborn Jun. Marmaduke Newby John Veasey Edward Phipps and John Brettell and settled the interest of the said 900^ll to be from time to time applied in manner following Nine pounds per annum for clothing and educating Poor Girls upon the establishment of Sergeants and Beckets Charity and the residue of such Interest Moneys for clothing three additional Poor Freemen yearly on the 29th of May and for clothing and educating such an additional Number of Poor Boys in the Corporation-Charity-School as may from time to time be found practicable.

In the MS. history of Northampton, in the possession of Mr. Crick, is the following full report, with tables, of a committee appointed to inquire into the possessions of the town in 1783. It

mainly deals with the town charities, and seems to us to be of sufficient value to reproduce *in extenso*:—

A Report of the Committee, appointed at an Assembly of the Corporation of the Town of Northampton, held October 23rd, 1783, composed of the following members ("or five of them") viz. "James Sutton Esq', Mayor, M' Justice Marshall M' Justice Gibson, M' Ald^n Thompson, Sen' M' Ald^n Davies, M' James Hilliar, M' Hill Gudgeon, M' Martin Lucas, M' Francis Hayes, M' Geo' Cliff, M' John George, M' John Warner, and M' Richard Allaston . for the purpose of perusing and examining the Abstracts and Accounts, then produced, and lately made out by the Town Clerk for the Several Estates, belonging to, or in Trust of the Corporation, and, if they thought necessary to epitomize the Same, they having Liberty 'to inspect any Writings or Credentials relating thereto"

As Soon as possible after the Vote of the House for our Appointment passed, we proceeded to investigate the Business referred to us, and having procured from the Town Clerk, Abstracts of the Several Charities in Trust of, and belonging to the Corporation, to draw them out under different heads, as is Specified in the schedule annexed.

Some of these Charities being of such ancient Date, it could not be traced who the Donors were, and some small Estates we found consolidated, amounting to 29£ per year; which has been distributed, to the poor, at Christmas.

There are Several Donations, over which the Whole, or some particular Members of the Corporation are Appointed Trustees, but the Rents being received by other Trustees, they are not accountable for the Application of them, such as the Free Grammar School, John Friend's Gift of the Black Boy Inn, and John Dryden's of the George Inn.

The patronage of the Living of All Saints was purchased of S' Thomas Littleton, by the Corporation, and is vested in Trustees appointed by them, out of such members of the Corporation as live in that Parish. The Uses, to which the rest of the Estates are appropriated, are set forth in the Schedule annexed: by which it appears that some of them are under the Direction of the Chamberlain, Some of the Warden; And M' Ald^n Sturgis, M' Ald^n Newcome, and M' Ald^n Gibson, have the leave of the others

The Chamberlain receives Yearly, Rent amounting to £588 19s. 9d. out of which he pays to Different Charities, and certain Expenses, £204 13s. 3d., and casual expenses, (taken at an Average of six years, viz. from Michaelmas, 1764, to Michaelmas, 1770) to the amount of £181—the payments together will be £385 13s. 3d. which being deducted from the Yearly Receipts, will leave a Balance of £203 9s. 6d But it appears to us that at the Time of Inclosing Northampton Fields, a Sum of Money was wanting to pay for the Fences &c. of the Corporation Allotment. M' George Tompson therefore advanced £900 upon Interest; which he is contented shall be repaid him by the Rent arising from the Farm demised to John Dunkley and amounting per year to £182 so that till M' Ald^n Tompson's Loan is paid off, the Chamberlain will have but £21 6s 6d. as a Balance.—£500 of the above £900 is already discharged; and if the said Rents are appropriated to that purpose, the Whole will be paid in the year 1786: and then the surplus of £203 will be rec^d by the Chamberlain, more than he will have a necessity of expending, unless the casual Expenses should exceed the average of the six years here given, namely £181.

We found the Wardens accounts, regularly brought up, to Michaelmas, 1782, and upon stating the yearly Receipts and disbursements, it appears that there would be a Balance, annualy in Hand, of about £40.—The present Wardens Book makes him Debtor to the Corporation £73 18s. But as his year commences at Michaelmas, and the poor at the Alms House are paid Weekly of course some money must be advanced before any rents can be due, and received, by him; We, therefore, judge it proper, that a sum should be left in his Hand, sufficient for that purpose, and when enough is reserved, to carry him on, till Rents, adequate to the current expenses, are Received, we recommend, that the remainder should be applied, to the increasing the Number of the Almswomen,* as we find by the Accounts of the different Gifts under his Care, that they were all left for their use, except a rent charge of £8 by Agnes Chipsey, which is left at discretion as to What Description of poor it shall be given.

Having paid what attention we could to the Chamberlain's and Warden's Accounts, we proceeded to some matters that are under the care of Mr Alderman Sturgis. The Sum of £24, being the Rent of a Meadow at Kislingbury, is Received and disposed of, by him, in putting Boys Apprentice.

The Rent of the Hide Land at Road, being £15, is also received by him, and Appropriated to the same purpose, after paying, out of it, 40s to each of the parishes of St Giles's, and St. Sepulchres.

And a Rent Charge of £26 per annum, is likewise paid to Mr. Aldn Sturgis, left by Mr. Gabriel Newton, of Leicester, for the Cloathing, &c., the Charity Boys of the Green Coat School.

Mr. Alderman Newcome receives £80 from the Bugbrook Estate, which, with the Voluntary Subscriptions, enables him to support the Brown-Coat School, for 25 boys, and Cloath 20 poor Freemen annually, with an allowance of 10s. each.

Mr Alderman Gibson is accountable to the Corporation for £157 per Annum, being the net Rent arising from the Butchers Stalls and Tolls; out of which he pays to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, £66 13s. 4d. to the Earl of Winchilsea, £31 6s. 8d. to Widows, £18., to the Charity-School £10. So that a yearly Balance will remain of £31 which your Committee do not find is specifically appointed to be appropriated to any particular purpose.

That Noble Charity given by Sir Thomas White, now demands our attention.

There hath been received from it at different Times, by this Corporation, the sum of £8720 2s. 8d.

Now outstanding on Bonds, 153 Fifty Pounds £7650, paid Law-Charge, and other Expenses £905 7s. 8d. Lost, by Failure of Securities £134 15s. Cash in hand £30, which balances the Account.

M. Lucas,
Chairman of the Committee.

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*This recommendation is complied with, and seven poor women have been added to the former number. [Original footnote.]

A Brief Account of the Estates and Charities in Trust, Application and Annual Payments therefr

Names of Donors.	When Given.	What the Gifts Consist of.	Where Situate.
Agnes Hopkins ...	8th Jan., 1593	2 Tenements, Orchard, and Garden	St. Giles' Street
John Neal	11th Apl., 39 Eliz.	Rent Charge on 2 Tenements	Drapery... ..
Henry Pryor 1558...	Two Rent-Charges on a Tenement, Orchard, and Close	West Gate	... ...
Anthony Acham ...	17th June, 1630	Rent Charges on Lands...	Asserby, Lincolnshire
Henry Neal ...	2nd June, 7 Chas. 1	A 3rd part of Balmsholm ..	Northampton ...
Purchased	15th Feb., 1654	Cow Meadow	Northampton .
		Calvesholmes	
		3rd part of Balmsholm .	
		Midsummer Meadow ...	
	10th June, 1656	Foot Meadow & Mill Holm	
Matthew Silesby .	18th Apl., 1662	A Messuage	Newland .
		Two Tenements . .	Horse Market
		Orchard and Garden .	St. John's Lane .
		A Close	St. Edmund's End
Richard Whites ...	1st June, 1691	A Close	Duston .. ..
		A Garden	Cow Lane ...
		Do.	St. Peter's Parish
Purchased		A Piece of Ground ...	In Hardingstone P next St. Leonard's
Purchased	20th Apl., 1662	Gobion's Manor, containing several pieces of land dispersed in Northampton Field before its inclosure, upon which it was laid into the 6 following allotments	Farm House and H stead, a Garden Stable adjoining, or. 38p. of Arable 16a or. 17p Me Land
			8a. 2r op. A Close
			8a. 2r. 19p. A Close
			25a 3r. 39p., part of Common
			3a. or. op. adjoining

Names of Donors.	When Given.	What the Gifts Consist of.	Where Situate.
Purchased	12th Apl., 1630	New Pastures ...	South side, next St. Gi Church
Alderman Freeman		Tenements and Ground...	St Giles' Street
		3rd part of Close, near St. Pulchre's Church	Allotted with Bell Hook
		2 Closes, called Tower Wall	East side, next St. Gi Churchyard
		Tenement and Close ...	College Lane and We Bridge
		Piece of Ground	St. Catherine's .
		do. do.	do. do.
		Farm House and Close adjoining, and several other Closes	Hardingstone parish
		5 Tenements and a Garden	Bridge Street, Kingw Lane, and Barken E
Quarriors		Rent Charge on a House...	South Bridge Foot
Neal		do. ...	Drapery .
Beatrice Ogles		do. ...	On Stockwell Hall
		A Tenement	Baker's Hill .
		do. adjoining ...	do. ...
		A Shop	At Great Conduit
		Rent Charges on Ground	On the Wood Hill
		A Piece of Ground ...	Dychurch Lane
		2 Closes	Milton and Wootton
		Land	Pisford . .
		House and Yard	Fish Lane

Certain Annual Payments.

	£.	s.	d.
Deputy Recorder's Salary as Town Counsel	10	10	0
Master of the Free Grammar School	6	5	0
Mace Bearer	6	6	0
Hall Keeper	3	0	0
Keeper of the Commons	3	2	0
Master of the Bridewell	2	0	0
Do. for Commons	0	18	0
Dues to the Vicar of All Saints' for Commons	0	19	6
Rent for a 3rd part of Balmsholm	10	0	0
The Town Sergeants' Salaries	6	0	0
Wade's Charity	2	0	0
Sexton of All Saints' for Attending the Mayor to Church ...	1	6	8
Freeman's Gift to the Poor in Bread	2	12	0
Distributed by the Mayor at Christmas in Charities	29	0	0
Lazarman 2s. a week	5	4	0
And for Food and Cloths for him	1	6	0
Almswomen of St. Thomas' Hospital, upon the foundation of John Langham, Esq.	36	0	0
Town Clerk, Settling the Chamberlains' Accounts, etc.	4	11	9
Chief Rents for Balmsholm	0	5	10

A Brief Account of the Charities in Trust of the Corporatio

THEREOF, UNDER THE CARE OF TH

Names of Donors.	When Given.	What the Gifts Consist of.	Where Situate
Edward Elmar .	24th June, 1592	3 Tenements	Abington street
		A Tenement and Stable .	Gold Street
Agnes Hopkins	8th Jan., 1593	Tenement and Garden .	St. Edmond's End
Thomas Hopkins ...	2nd April, 41 Eliz.	A Messuage	Near St Peter's C
John Bryant	14th Oct., 1603	Part of a Close . . .	Hardingstone parish

Names of Donors.	When Given.	What the Gifts Consist of.	Where Situate.
Thomas Creaswell...	20th Dec., 1606	Two Messuages, Orchard, and Backside	South Gate ..
Agnes Chipsey ...	28th Aug., 1608	Rent-Charge on Freehold	Grimoldby, etc., Lincolnshire
James Bayles ...	5th Dec., 1683	A Tenement	St. John's Lane
		Corporation Charity School	Bridge Street
		3 Tenements under do ..	do. ..
		2 Tenements and Close ..	Sheep street ...
		A Close ..	West side Broad Lane
		Part of a Little Close .	do. .
		Other part of do. ...	do ..
		A Little Close	Near Castle Hill
LawrenceWoollaston	30th Chas. II.	Rent-Charge	Dodford Wood ..
Richd. Massingberd	4th Nov., 1680	8 Tenements	St. Giles' Street...
		A Tenement	Newland ...
		2 Tenements ..	do ...
		Stable and Garden ...	do. ...
		Tenement adjoining Town Farm Homestead	Abington Street .
		A Tenement	Newland ..
		2 Tenements . .	Abington Street ..
		3 Tenements, Garden, and Close	St. Giles' Street
		A Piece of Ground ..	Dern Gate
		A Tenement and Malting	Crackbow Lane ...
		A Tenement ..	Bridge Street
		Use of Wall ..	St. Thomas's Hospita
Richard Massingberd	4th Nov., 1680	A Close ...	West Cotton ..
		A Tenement, called "Quart Pot"	Gold Street ..
		A Tenement	Horsemarket ..
		A Tenement and Garden	South side Silver Stre
		A Tenement	do. ...
		2 Stables and Garden ...	do. ..
		3 Tenements, a Garden, and a piece of Ground .	Mayorhold
		A Close ..	Near Marvell's Mills
		A Little Close	Near Bell Barn ..
		A Tenement ...	Near Peacock Inn
		A Tenement	Drum Lane . .

at Purpose Given.	Tenants' Names.	Date of Leases.	Expiration of Leases.	Ann. Rent. £. s. d.
eople, St. Thomas's pital	John Bletsoe ...	25th Mar., 1745	25th Mar., 1795	2 10 0
	William Plowman	25th Mar., 1747	25th Mar., 1795	2 0 0
f Northampton ...	... ...	... ...	... .	8 0 0
of St. Thomas's Hos- l	Edward Cox .	... ...	.. ...	1 9 0
do.	Thomas Ager ..	... .	... ...	2 10 0
do.	Toll Cross and Sherwood	. ...	... ...	4 11 0
do.	Executors of Will. Dodd ...	4th July, 1769 ..	Mich., 1847...	8 0 0
do.	Joseph Walker . .	18th Sep., 1778	Mich., 1791...	9 0 0
do.	Edward Morriss...	... ...	.. ... .	0 9 6
do.	John Fox ..	... ...	... ...	1 4 6
do.	Samuel Summerfield ..	... .	.. ..	1 10 0
do.	... ...	.. ..	... ...	20 0 0
do.	Josh. Easton ...	Mich., 1765 ...	Mich., 1826...	8 0 0
do.	Henry Duke ...	3rd Jan., 1775...	Mich., 1797...	6 0 0
do.	Joshua Snowden..	14th Oct., 1709	Mich., 1808...	1 0 0
do.	Rev. Edw. Watkins ...	20th April, 1694	Lady Day, 1793	1 6 0
do.	Fox Walker ...	28th Oct., 1777	Mich., 1796...	6 0 0
do.	FrancisHumphrey	29th May, 1760	Mich., 1821...	1 6 8
do.	Thomas Ward ...	14th Jan., 1766	Lady Day, 1797	6 10 0
do.	Rev. Edw. Watkins	11th May, 1775	Lady Day, 1797	6 10 0
do.	George Landers...	1st June, 1762	Lady Day, 1813	0 15 0
do.	Eliz. Jeffcutt ...	24th June, 1763	Lady Day, 1813	1 6 8
do.	John Edwards ...	10th Sep., 1772	5th Apl., 1804	6 0 0
do.	Andrew Chambers			0 2 6
'oor of St. Thomas' Hospital	William Gibson...	30th March, 1773	Mich., 1794...	5 10 0
do.	John Gibson ...	24th June, 1763	Lady Day, 1784	1 10 0
do.	Saul Ashby ...	do	... ...	1 10 0
do.	William Chamberlain	25th March, 1773	Lady Day, 1794	6 0 0
do.	John Fox ...	6th Jan., 1762 ..	Lady Day, 1861	1 0 0
do.	Henry Locock ..	21st April, 1775	Mich., 1799 ..	2 10 0
do.	Thomas Dickinson	27th April, 1769	Lady Day, 1790	4 0 0
do.	Robert Morriss ...	1st Dec., 1763 ..	Lady Day, 1785	5 5 0
do.	Robert Smith	.. ..	... ..	0 9 0
do.	J. H. Thursby, Esq.	30th June, 1773.	10th October, 1796	6 0 0
do.	John Lacy ...	20th April, 1777	Lady Day, 1798	5 5 0

A Brief Statement of the Money received by the Corporation of Northampton on Account of the Charity given by Sir Thomas White, and the Manner the same hath been Disposed of, up to the Year 1784.

	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Received from Coventry at Sundry Times, from the year 1608 to 1782 inclusive	8720 2 8	Lent on Bonds, agreeable to the Will of the Donor 153 fifty pounds, which are now outstanding .		7650 0 0
		Paid Law Charges, Fees, and Duties; likewise Expenses in fetching £8720 2s. 8d from Coventry at 37 different times, and other Incidental Disbursements		905 7 8
		Lost by Henry Cooper	20 0 0	
		by John Clark	50 0 0	
		by William Jackson	25 0 0	
		by Henry William Markham	13 15 0	
		by George Landers...	26 0 0	
				134 15 0
		Cash in Hand		30 0 0

A Brief Statement of the Money received by the Corporation of Northampton on Account of the Charity given by Sir Thomas White, and the Manner the same hath been Disposed of, up to the Year 1784.

	£	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Received from Coventry at Sundry Times, from the year 1608 to 1782 inclusive	8720	2	8	Lent on Bonds, agreeable to the Will of the Donor 153 fifty pounds, which are now outstanding .				7650	0	0
				Paid Law Charges, Fees, and Duties; likewise Expenses in fetching £8720 2s. 8d from Coventry at 37 different times, and other Incidental Disbursements				905	7	8
				Lost by Henry Cooper	20	0	0			
				by John Clark	50	0	0			
				by William Jackson	25	0	0			
				by Henry William Markham .. .	13	15	0			
				by George Landers...	26	0	0			
								134	15	0
				Cash in Hand				30	0	0
	£8720	2	8					£8720	2	8

Names of Donors.	When Given.	What the Gifts Consist of.	Where Situate.	For What Purpose Given.	Tenants' Names.	Annual Rent. £. s. d.
				Under the care of Alderman Sturgis.		
George Norwood..	15th July, 1669 ...	A Meadow	Kislingbury	To put poor Boys Apprentice	John Watts	84 0 0
		Hyde Land	Road	Do.	... . ..	15 0 0
Gabriel Newton	... ...	Rent Charge	Leicester	To clothe and educate Green Coat Boys ...	... ...	26 0 0
				Under the care of Alderman Newcome.		
Joseph Woolston..	1753	£200	Purchased a Farm at Bugbrook	For the Corporation Charity School, and Clothing 20 poor Freemen of the Town of Northampton ..	Johnson . .	80 0 0
Willm. Stratford..	... .	£100				
Willm. Cartwright	.. ..	£50				
James, Earl of Northampton	... .	£1000				

Under the care of Alderman Gibson.

	£. s. d.
Butchers' Stalls, Market Hill	70 0 0
Tolls, Northampton	87 0 0
	157 0 0

	£. s. d.	
Out of which Tolls, etc., is paid to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, an Annual Rent of	66 13 4	
Do. to the Earl of Winchelsea	31 6 8	
Do. to Mr. Giles' Widow	10 0 0	
Do. to Mrs. Francis Williamson	8 0 0	
Do. to the Corporation Charity School	10 0 0	
		126 0 0
Balance		31 0 0

ALL SAINTS.

THE church of All Saints, together with all the other churches of the town, was given by Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northmpton, in 1084, to the Cluniac priory of St. Andrew, which butted on the town on the north-west. It remained in the hands f the monastery up to the time of the dissolution of the religious ouses in the reign of Henry VIII., when the right of presentation) the vicarage was transferred to the crown.

The rectory of All Saints, valued at £22 per annum, was ssigned, after the dissolution, to Francis Abrey, the last prior of t. Andrew's, in part payment of the pension of £50 a year granted im by the crown. An annual sum of £13 6s. 8d. was at the same me granted as pension to John Ball, vicar of the parish church f All Saints.

The priory received all the offerings and dues of the parish. t the time of the dissolution John Brightwell was the collector, nd his accounts showed £8 8s. 3d. for Easter and Lent offerings; 3s. 10¼d for the purifying of women; 27s. 10¼d. for marriages; s 10¼d. for burials; and 12s. 8d. for small tithes.

Neither vicarage nor rectory were granted away by the crown p to the time of Philip and Mary. The accounts of the second nd third years of that joint reign state, under St. Andrew's riory, that the crown renounced their rights to the emoluments nd presentation of this living. This action was taken in accord ith the general Act of that year, whereby all ecclesiastical enefices that had come to the crown through the dissolution of e religious houses were vested in the papal legate, and afterwards the archbishops.

Cardinal Pole, as papal legate, at the time that he gave the bric and site of the church of St. Gregory to the town for free hool purposes, united the parishes of All Saints and St. Gregory, d transferred the patronage to the corporation.

From that date the church of All Saints was regarded as the ecial property of the town, and although Elizabeth, at the be-

ginning of her reign, re-assumed control over those benefices assigned by 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary, the crown technically presenting to the vicarage of All Saints, the benefice was of so little value, apart from the assistance it received from the town, that the presentation was practically in the hands of the corporation of Northampton from 1556 onwards.

Meanwhile, the crown had made over the rectory to the Littleton family, but in 1619 the corporation purchased all the rectorial rights from Sir Thomas Littleton, and Katharine, his wife, for the small sum of £200. At the same time the advowson of the vicarage was conveyed to trustees to present such persons as should on every vacancy be nominated by such of the members of the corporation as should for the time be inhabitants and parishioners of the parish of All Saints.

Borough records are not the place in which we expect to find church details; but as All Saints for some three hundred years was so closely connected in every way with the corporation, references to this church and its ministers constantly occur.

We now proceed to give the more important of these references and to occasionally illustrate them from the church books and from the public records. Remarkably interesting as is the pre-Reformation history of this church, of which comparatively nothing has yet been written, it is considered better here to confine ourselves exclusively to the time when it was emphatically the town's church.

The Will of John Quarrior.

In the order book of the assembly is the transcript of the will of John Quarrior, dated September 6th 1558, when he was "of hole mynde and of good Remembraunce, lauded be almightie god but yet sick and weake in body." It is of considerable interest as showing the nature of the services at the close of Mary's reign.

He leaves his body to be buried in the parish church of All Saints, and bequeaths 3s 4d. for his "lyenge there," "and 4d to my mother churche in Peterboroughe," and "forthe of the howse that I dwell nowe in yerely for ever a marke in mony towards the finding of a other secondary priest to singe in the same churche evermore if the Lawes wyll permitt it elice I wyll that the said yerely rent of a marke by ther yere be given yerely to the poore people of the saide town of Northampton at two equal

Scambler, of Peterborough, seems to have been willing not only to wink at, but to encourage the most daring irregularities.

No one of intelligence, whatever may be his own theological predilections, can fail to see that the following account of the teachings and customs that prevailed at All Saints in 1571 (which are transcribed from documents at the public record office), are in distinct violation of any principle of conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, and that Calvin's Catechism and the elaborate "Confession of Faith" are in plain contradiction to Church of England teaching. Apart, however, from such questions, this insight into the strict and sternly ordered religious discipline of the Elizabethan town is curious and interesting. The Puritans certainly invoked the civil power of the town to back them after a most thorough and effective fashion.

The orders and dealings in the Churches of Northampton established and set up by the consent of the Bysshop of Peterborough the maior and bretherne of the Towne there and others the Queenes Maties Justices of peace within the saide Countie and Towne taken and founde the vth daie of June 1571, Annoque xiij Regine Elizabeth.

(1.) The singinge and playeing of Organes before tyme accustomed in the Quire is putt downe and the comen prayer there accestomed to bee said is brought downe into the bodie of the churche amongst the people before whome the same is said accordinge to the Quene's booke with singinge psalms before and after the Sermone.

(2.) There is in the chefe churche every tewsdaye and thursdaie from ix to the clock untill x in the morninge Redd a lecture of the scriptures begynnynge with the confession in the book of Comen prayer and ending with prayer, and confession of the faith etc.

(3.) There is in the same churche every sondaie and holydaie after morninge prayer A Sermone the people singinge the psalmes before and after.

(4.) That service be ended in everie parishe churche by ix of the clock in the morninge every sondaye and holy daye to thende the people maye resort to the service to the same church and that every mynister gyve warnynge to the parishioners in tyme of comen prayer to repaire to the sermon theare, excepte they have a sermon in their owne parishe Churche.

(5.) That after prayers don, in the tyme of Sermon or Catechisme none sitte in the streetes or walke up and downe abroade or otherwye occupie themselves vainely uppon such penaltie as shalbe appointed.

(6.) That youth at thende of evenynge prayer every sondaie and holydaye before all the elder people are examyned in A porcon of Calvyns Catechisme which by the reader is expounded unto them and holdeth an hower.

(7.) There is a general Comunyon every quarter in every parishe churche with a sermone whiche is by the mynister at Comen prayer warned fower severall sondaies before every Comunyon, with exhortacon to the people to prepare for that daie.

(8.) One fourthnighte before eche Comunyon, the mynister with the Churche wardens maketh his Circuyt from howse to howse to take the names of the Comunycantes

(16.) The carryenge of the bell before courses (corpses) in the streetes, and biddinge prayers for the ded (wth was there used till w^th^in thes twoo yeares is restrayned

(17.) There is hereafter to take place ordered that all mynisters of the shire once euery quarter of the yere, uppon one monethes warnynge gyven repayer to the saide townes, and theare, after a sermonde in the churche herde, to w^th^draw themselves into a place appointed w^th^in the sayde churche, and there pryvately to conferre amongst themselves of their manners and lyves, amongst whome if any be found in faulte for the fyrst tyme exhortacon is made to him amongest all the bretherne to amend, and so lykewyse the seconde, the thirde tyme by complaint from all the bretherne, he is comytted unto the byshopp for his correccon

The order of the exercise of the mynisters wth a Confession of the Fayth.

(1.) Everie one at his first allowance to be of this exercise, shall by subscripcon of his owne hande declare his consent in Christes true religion wth his bretherne and submit himself to the discipline and orders of the same

(2.) The names of euery man that shall speake in this exercise shalbee written in a table, for it shalbee unlawfull for any man to speake in this exercise until he be admytted to the same, and his name by his owne consent regestred in the said table Neither shall it be Lawful for any man to occupie the roome of the seconde speaker, except he have spoken in the first place, unlesse he be desired by the moderators

(3.) The first speaker begynnynge and endinge wth praier, ought to explain the text that he readeth, then he may confute any false or untreue exposicions yf he knowe that the place hath bene abused by any synister interpretacons, then may he geve the comforte to his awdiens, as the place mynistreth just occasion, but he shall not digresse, dilate, nor amplifie that place of scripture whereof he entreateth to eny comen place further then the meanynge of the saide sentence.

(4.) Whatsoevor is left by the first speaker either in explayninge the text, either in confutinge, etc., he or thaie that speake afterwarde have libertie to touche so as they observe the order prescribed to the first speaker, and that w^th^out repeatinge the self same thinges wth have been spoken before, or impugne the same, except any have spoken contrary to the scriptures.

(5.) The exercise shall begynne ymediately after nyne of the clock, and not exceede the space of twoo houres, the first speaker shall fully fynishe whatsoever he hath to saye w^th^in the space of three quarters of one howe: The seconde and thirde shall not exceede (eche one of them) one quarter of an howe, one of the moderators shall alwaies make the conclusion.

(6.) After the exercise is ended the president for the tyme being shall call the learned bretherne unto him, and shall aske their judgements concernynge the exposicon of the texte of scripture then expounded, and yf any matter be then untouched it shalbee there declared Also yf any of the speakers in this exercise be informed and convinced of any grevous cryme, he shalbe there and then be reprehended.

(7.) At this consultacon it shalbe Lawfull for any of the bretherne of this exercise to expound their dowbtes or questions justly collected owte of the place of the scripture that daie expounded and signify the same unto the president for the

prohibition of marriage, distinction of meates apparrell, and daies, breeflye all the ceremonies and whole order of papistrie, which they call the hierarchie ended. A dyvelishe confusion establisshed as it were in despite of God, to the mockerye, and reproche of all christian religion. Those (I say) with suche lyke, wee abjure, renounce, and utterlye condemne.

And wee content o'selves wth the simplicitie of this pure woorde of God, and doctrine thereof a summal. (*sic*) abridgement of the wth wee acknowledge to be contained in that confession of faith used of all christians wch is comonlie called the creede of the Apostells) holdinge fast (as thapostle warneth) that faithful wood wch serveth to doctrine and instruccon And that both to edifie o' owne consciences wth all unto salvacon in Christ Jhesus as the alone foundacion whereon Christes true churche is buik, he himself beinge the chief corner stone, as the same apostell witnesseth in another place and also to exhorte other wth the same sownde and wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers, fynallie to trie and examine, and also to judge thereby as by a certeyn rule, and perfecte touchstone all other doctrines whatsoever. And therefore to this woorde of God wee humblye submitte o'selves and all o' doings, willinge and readie to be judged, reformed, or further instructed thereoye in all pointes of religion

The extraordinary condition of things that prevailed in the corporation church at Northampton aroused general notice, and at last, early in 1579, the formal attention of the privy council was called to "the ecclesiastical disorders and scandals at Northampton." On April 5th, their lordships wrote to the Bishop of Peterborough requiring him, "with thassistance of some learned ministers in the places adjoyning, and especialle Mr Smith, parson of Blissworthe, to inform himself more particularlie of the said disorders," and, with the help of such gentlemen and the adjoining justices of the peace, to take order for redress and reformation.

The bishop excused himself from interfering on account of his ill health, but on May 20th, orders were issued to the bishop (if recovered), Sir John Spencer, Sir Edward Brudnell, Sir Edward Montague, and Roger Cave, Esq., or any three of them, to repair to Northampton for the reforming of the ecclesiastical disorders, and to call to them Archdeacon Sheppard and the parson of Blisworth to render assistance.

In August, of the same year, the matter was further investigated by actual members of the privy council, when the lord treasurer and the chancellor of the exchequer were paying a visit to the vice-chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, at his newly built mansion of Holdenby house. Most of the blame for the notorious irregularities was laid on the shoulders of Mr. Jennings, who was then

hath beene, or else wth hewen squared stone beseeminge soe beautifull a fabrick as the house of God.

All the seats in the lower part of the chancell and wings thereof except the ancient collegiate seats are to be removed, and noe seats to be suffered there w^th [illegible] screenes to hide the people from being discovered whether they kneele at the sacrament, and use such other gestures as are injoyned by the Church of England before, at or after the sacrament.

The vestry wants plasteringe, whiteinge and paroing in all parts, and the windows want glazeinge.

The communion cupps are like comman drinking bowles, and are to be new challice fashion.

The Kings Remonstrance, or Apologie is wantinge.

They want the booke for his Maties Coronacon the 27th of March.

They want the booke for tolleracon of lawful recreacions &c.

The seiling of the vestry is broke in divers places.

It doth not appeare that either the minister or people doe reverently bowe at the name of the Lord Jesus in time of divine service.

The parishioners have not yet received the communion at the tayles.

The minister doth not bidd holedayes &c.

It doth not appear to us that ye minister doth turne his sermons in the afternoon into a catechiticall way of questions and answers, but doth preach according to his owne fancie.

There are a companie of cobleing patchd boords clamped together wth seats att [illegible] at the upper end of the church under the belfrey, wth defaces that [illegible] church and is fitt for nothing, but to hide sleepers. The partiecion before it is [illegible] too high, and so is the wainscott of the next seat to it under the loft.

All the seats in the middle space wch extend further then the ancient [illegible] and the return of the wall at the end of the Chancellors seate darken up a great part of the middle space, and are to be paled up and removed.

The Chancellors seate and 3 other seats downeward are too high by [illegible]

The deskes of the seats on the north side of the midle space make the seats high and therefore fitt to be removed.

The pavement of the church is uneven in most places and broken in divers places most part of it is rough stone, a great deal of it fitter for the gripe of a cockatrice then the house of God, wch stands need to be taken up and newe layd, and the [illegible] wth hewen squared stone beseeming that sacred place.

A great number of the seats in the North ile are neither paved nor boarded [illegible] the [illegible] and divers of the seats there are broken and a great part of [illegible] ancient wherein might be placed seats enough [illegible] times and manie [illegible] be [illegible] the middle space upon pluckeing up of the seates wth some steps to [illegible] There are also divers ancient collegiate seates and barrs w^ch [illegible] have beene removed out of the chancell, and wrongly placed in their [illegible] seats in the [illegible] from whence they were removed [illegible] for the [illegible] there at the [illegible] when as they seem as due at the removing of the same. [illegible] and barrs are to be returned to the place from whence they were

is still a doare leading out of the north wing of the lower chancell, into that place where that buildinge stood.

The churchyard moundes are too lowe and defective in divers places, and much rubbish lyeth ag^t the church walles to v^e ruineing of the same.

The windowes of the church and chancell want glazeing in divers places.

The crosse seates in the south space and all the deskes leaninge over into the same space, or anie other spaces of the church doe annoy the same and are to be removed.

The south east corner of the consistorie the topp of a window east in the south ile or wing of the lower chancell, and the north side are all cracked, want peinting and repaire

(Endorsed)

A copy of the defectes and decayes
in the church of All Saints.

On the following day, October 27th, the vicar, Thomas Ball, was cited before the commissioners, and a notarial minute of the commissioners' injunctions to the vicar was entered, of which the following is an abstract :—

"Notarial minute of proceedings of Dr. Samuel Clarke and Dr. Robert Sibthorpe commissaries of the Bishop of Peterborough, to visit the churches of his diocese, in the residence of Dr Clarke at Kingsthorpe. Thomas Ball vicar of All Saints, Northampton, appeared before the visitors and was admonished by them to observe all the rights of the Church of England, and particularly bowing at the name of the Lord Jesus; that the communion table be not taken away from the east end of the chancel, and that it be cancelled; and that he appoint so many communions betwixt this and Candlemas, as that all the parishioners may receive the same, and give notice to the parishioners to come up and receive at the rails, kneeling upon the bench there; and that he do not come out of the cancelling to deliver the communion to any factious person. Time was assigned to him to certify herein on the first sitting day after the feast of the Purification"

Meanwhile, the churchwardens of All Saints, Peter Farren and Francis Rishworth, were also cited before the visitors, and were admonished to rail in the communion table and affix a kneeling bench to the same; also to remove certain seats extending thirteen feet downwards from the east end of the chancel, and place the communion table altarwise close to the east end; and also to observe diligently the gestures of the ministers and parishioners, as to whether they bowed at the name of Jesus, and whether the ministers bade holy days, and turned their afternoon sermons

into a catechetical way of questions and answers, or preached according to their own fancies; and finally, whether the parishioners received the communion kneeling.

On December 16th, 1637, both the wardens appeared again before the visitors, and not having carried out these orders, they were warned to execute the same for the second and third time, urgently, more urgently, and most urgently. On January 12th, 1637-8, they appeared again, and the mandate not having been obeyed, they were both excommunicated.

In the following month the excommunicated wardens petitioned Archbishop Laud, stating that on December 16th last, petitioners were by the ordinary's surrogate admonished to cancel in the communion table before the 12th of January last, which petitioners were noways able to perform, by reason that during Christmas fit workmen could not be procured. Thereupon the surrogate excommunicated petitioners, who then had begun the said work, and shortly after the said excommunication they completed it. They prayed to be absolved, and the surrogate refusing, they were forced to make their appeal to the court of Arches, where by the information of the surrogate they cannot obtain their absolutions. They pray order to the Dean of Arches for their absolution.

The petition was referred to the Dean of Arches (Sir John Lambe), who was instructed, "if he found the suggestions true, to take order that the petitioners be absolved."

It seems that eventually the excommunication was removed, and the chancel for the time re-arranged. But the Puritans had too long had their way at All Saints to yield the least obedience to either church principles or church law, and the grievous visitation of the plague in 1638, again threw everything into confusion. Dr Clarke, writing to the Dean of Arches on June 17th of that year, says:—The sickness is sore at Northampton. They now do what they like in the church service at All Saints. Some very lately cut the rail or cancel that was about the Lord's board in pieces, and brought down the Lord's table into the middle of the chancel I long since advised the Mayor and his brethren that the Thursday lecture and sermons on Sunday in the afternoon, should be forborne in these infectious times. They then raised a report of me, that I was about to starve their souls."

On June 29th, Dr. Sibthorpe wrote at length to the Dean of Arches, on the religious affairs of the town and district. As the

letter is curious in several respects, it seems worth while to reproduce it verbatim.—

Good S^r

I received yor letter which I thancke you for, and I thoncke God for continuing those whom it concernes constant, that men of mischeevous imaginations may not delude them, nor destroy others at their pleasures.

I wish all happiness to the new married couple, and I wish hartily that a couple of those, who (as yo^u say) danced at the wedding were well and happily marrred.

In the meantime I pray for yor and their healtnes, whom we hope to see, or intende to coine and see before it be long.

Northampton men continue still inveighing against idolatry, yet idoleing their owne inventions. Insomuch that upon Thursday June 21st there was a preaching fast, by Mr. Ball in the forenoone, and Mr. Newton in the afternoone but neither of them prayed for any Arch Bishops or B^ps nor used the Lords prayer at conclusion of theirs before sermon, nor did they, or the people use any of the reverend gestures or rites and ceremonies enjoyned.

How these things are like to be amended except some higher hande vouchsafe to assist, yo^u may perceive by the inclosed coppie of a letter, sent to Do^r Clerke from a reverend man, a Bachellor of Arts, of 16 or 17 years standing at the least, Sir Nooke, Mr. Bacons brother in law, and a chaplaine &c, wherein yo^u may be pleased to observe, that if it take not, it is but Sir Nooke not his L^d nor soe much as the Do^r Chaplaine, &c. If it take, and be ill taken, either Sr Noke was mistaken or others mistooke him, or at the least it must be others doeing, not the L^ds, yet if others will not doe it, they are the wicked persecut^rs and not he. But be it as it may, I for my part am resolved, and soe I think I have setled him to whom the letter was sent, except direct commaund come to the contrary.

S^r yo^u was pleased to give order that I should have a copie of the sentence in the High Commission ag^st the Sussex churchwarden, (I think of Lewes) for removeinge the Comunion Table out of the Cancelling &c, you may perceive it may concerne me, I beseech yo^u be pleased to remember it, and wth all if yo^u please give Mr Knight some item, that he may not favor Miles Burkitt, nor disfavour Gare, or his proctor too much in that cause. It seemes y^t his wife had sometimes some relacion to a Burkitt, and for y^t cause inclines to favor Mr. Miles, especially heareing that he is a good man, and Mr Knight, out of his good nature, and care to her, is apt to beleive as much, and almost angry, that Gares proctor was not be preswaded to the like opinion, yo^u partly know them both, I will not desire y^u to rectefie Mr Miles, for that I doubt yo^u cannot doe, but I pray yo^u (if yoe thincke fitt) sett Mr Knight right, for that I hope may be done, and if it fall in yor way to doe this bearer any other lawfull favor I should desire it, for I perswade my selfe he will be honest and thanckefull to his power.

Our Assizes at Daventry are very small by reason that the gaol cannot be removed from Northampton, nor is heere any observable occurents worth the wrighting, only there is no new commission come downe, although the Prime Attorney told Do^r Clerke that the Ld Keeper tolde him that he had given a warrant to put Sr Richard out of the Commision and the Clerke of the Peace tolde me that he heard that a warrant lay at the Crown Office &c. But it seemes they

expect some fees, before they are willing to wright soe much as y^t comes to, and I believe some body will be at some charges, rather then it shall be long undone; only yor assistance may be implored as formerly wherein I hope yo^u will not be wanting.

So with my best respects and prayers I rest,

June 29, 1638. At yor service,

Daventery. ROB: SYBTHORPE.

Do^r Clerke telleth me y^t the B. P. of Con: and Lych: wrighteth to him that you can tell y^t he remembord him, to his Gr: and I pray you remember us both, as oppertunity serveth, and God give the successe in his time.

These Tocester men on whose behalfe the inclosed letter was written were infected by Stoner a lecturer, maintayned by ye Londoners now gone to New England, and they have misapplyed divers texts of Scripture against the Communion Table standing at the East, and theyr coming up to receive, with divers other disorders (that I may not call them blasphemies or prophanacions,) which I will acquainte yo^u with hereafter, fitter (as I thincke) for the High Commission then for any inferior jurisdiccion to reforme, and so I advised at the first.

R. S.

The Vicars and their Stipends.

It will now be well to go back, and note what the town records and church books tell us with regard to successive vicars and their stipends.

At the assembly held on October 23rd, 1572, Mr. Brian, and Mr. Manley, aldermen, Richard Wate, shoemaker, John Danbrooke, and Henry Clarke, late bailiffs, together with Thomas Humfrey and Oliver Fell, commoners, were chosen "cessors for the wage of a preacher and a mynister in All Hallowes to preache and teache." In 1584 the assembly appointed a deputation of three aldermen to travel to London in order to appear before the privy council "towchinge the gettinge of a mynyster." The assembly resolved in 1597, that Robert Catelyn, minister and preacher of All Saints, should have allowed and assured unto him a stipend of £30 to be paid quarterly. It was at the same time agreed that a yearly cess should be made on all the parishioners of All Saints for this value of £30, which was to be paid by them to the town chamber, "provided allwaies that yf anie other parishes willbe contributors of their benevolence to the same that then the towne shall levie the lesse."

The assembly agreed, in May, 1596, to pay four several sums of £4 19s. due for firstfruits of the parsonage of All Saints,

allowance of the towne Chamber for the keepinge of a constant lecturer," should be paid quarterly every year, at the time of the quarterly assembly.

On August 17th, of the same year, the assembly ordered that "a flore should be made over the hall of the house Mr. Ball elected minister of All Saints is to come to for a studie for him at the Chamber's charge." Five pounds was also voted by the assembly in April, 1630, towards the further repair of "St. Thomas' House," where Mr. Ball was then dwelling.

Notwithstanding the resolution of 1629, the corporation did not pay the firstfruits on the vicarage of All Saints, and appear to have endeavoured to resist the claim. In 1634 the assembly ordered that whereas "Mr. Thomas Ball now minister of All Saints is now questioned by the Sheriffe of this Countie whoe hath proces against him for firstfruits of Vicaridge of All Saints aforesaid being xxij^{li} or thereabouts It is nowe agreed That the said Mr. Ball discharging the same first fruites for his quiett for the present shall have the same repaide him backe again out of the Chamber of this Corporation at the next feastes of Saint Michaell and the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Saint Marie by even portions"

In 1635 the case of "Mr. Edward Reynoldes Clerke, late minister of All Sts," was brought before the assembly. It appeared that he had paid out of his own purse £22 for firstfruits upon his institution and induction, and he claimed the return of this sum from the chamber, now that it had done the like for his successor, Mr. Ball. Accordingly, a vote was passed by the assembly to repay Mr Reynoldes £11 the following Michaelmas, and £11 on the next Lady Day.

The sheriff threatened, in 1636, to levy £70 of arrears of tenths due from Mr. Ball for many years past, whereupon the chamberlains were ordered to give their bond for his security for a time to the sheriff, the assembly holding them harmless.

Meanwhile, the assembly took counsel's opinion as to further resistance with regard to the tenths, and were advised to compromise, with the result that a composition was made in April, 1637, for £45, which was immediately paid by the chamber. It was also agreed that inquiries should be made as to what tenths were formerly paid, and every endeavour made to bring them to a lower rate.

On November 11th, 1650, the assembly made the following order :—

It is agreed and ordered that Mr Rishworth, Mr Sarjeant and Mr White and all of them repaire to London at the Townes charges and endeavour as well to secure the C marks parcell of the fee farme Rent of that towne to the Maiores All Sts the same having bene heretofore ordered and paid to him for the augmentation of his meanes, the same being besides but verie small, and to get in an Act of Parliament for the rating of lands in the parish towards the raising of a large sum to ad to these C marks yearelie, out of those monies to pay Mr Ba[illegible] C[illegible] and a competent allowance to an assistant to him, as also to compound a [illegible] great and unequall burden in taxes for the Armies by the Com[illegible] of the Counc[illegible] upon the towne, and to get some redresse therein if it may be

The deputation met with some success in their petition to the committee for the augmentation of benefices. On their return the assembly anticipated the expected favours, and ordered the town bailiffs to pay the 100 marks from the fee farm rent (which had sometime belonged to the dean and canons of Windsor) to Mr Ball, agreeing to be responsible if any damage or trouble accrued to the bailiffs for this appropriation. In January, 1651-2, it was reported that Mr. Wollaston and Mr. Collins were going to London on their own affairs, but were anxious to take a little pains towards furthering the application for augmentation and for an act of parliament with regard to the income of the minister of All Saints whereupon the assembly agreed that they should be repaid whatever moneys they were out of purse in that behalf.

In May, 1652, the required grant from the augmentation committee and the necessary act or order of parliament had been obtained, but the assembly still thought it most prudent to pass yet another resolution agreeing to hold their bailiffs harmless if any harm or trouble arose, apparently even at that time mistrusting the duration of the then civil power

In December, 1654, £20 was delivered by the assembly out of the chamber into the hands of the mayor, by him to be paid to Mr. Ball, minister of All Saints, which was overdue from last year, "and allso Tenn more to be paid out of the Chamber unto the countrie ministers towards the maintenance of the lecture.

In 1656 a petition was propounded to the assembly touching the maintenance and support of the ministers within the town and for delivering two letters to the Lord Cleypoole and Sir Gilbert Pickering. Mr. Gifford was desired to undertake the presenting and performing of the same at the town's charge

In March, 1657-8, it was ordered that the money expended by the aldermen (the usual wine bill) with the lecturers about the settling of the weekly lecture be paid by the chamberlains, and that for the time to come the minister's dinner that preacheth shall be paid out of the chamber. At the same time it was resolved that the mayor and aldermen prepare a letter of thanks, in the name of the whole assembly, to be "presented to the Lecturers to signifie their thanks to them for their readiness in this businesse."

In 1689, Dr. Conant, who had been vicar of All Saints for nineteen years, resigned the living by reason of old age, and a sharp contest arose as to his successor. Mr. Ward, of Old, was supported by the mayor and some of the aldermen, "but ye major part was for Mr King, wherefore ye Mayor put some out of ye house; but at last there being 2 to 1 for Mr King he is minister."

The following memorandum is inserted amongst the orders of assembly for 1717:—

Mem^d The Mayor Bailiffs and Burgesses who are of the usual Assemblys of the said Towne of Northampton and of the parish of All Saints in the said Towne did at a Meeting in the Guild Hall of the said Towne on the seventeenth day of May 1717 name and choose the Twelve persons whose names are wrote in the margin hereof (being all of the said parish of All Saints) to be Trustees of the Rectory Impropriate of the Parish Church of All Saints aforesaid with the Appurtenances of the Advowson or Right of Patronage thereof in the room of those deceased, the old Trustees being all dead except Mr William Else.

Mr John Wallis Mayor	
Mr John Agutter Alderman	
Mr John Clarke Grocer Alderman	
Mr John Scriven	Present Bailiffs
Mr George Tompson	Present Bailiffs
Mr John Chapman	Bailiffs
Mr Stephen Winston	Bailiffs
Mr Gyles Twigden	Bailiffs
Mr Richard Jeffcutt	Bailiffs
Mr Thomas Ives	Bailiffs
Mr Nicholas Jeffcutt	Bailiffs
Mr John Clarke	Burgess

The next extract is thoroughly discreditable to the corporation. On December 15th, 1746, they actually agreed to sell the next presentation to All Saints, to help to discharge the debts they owed. We are glad to find that a respectable minority voted

against this proposition, and insisted upon the names of the division list being recorded :—

That the next Avoydance or Turn of the Vicarage of All Saints in this Town be sold with all convenient speed for the best price that can be reasonably got or had for the same and that the money arising by the said sale be applyed in and towards paying off and discharging the Debts owing by and from the Corporation and that the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being or the mayor part of them have power to contract and agree with any person or persons for the Sale of the next Avoydance of the said Vicarage.

For selling the next Turn were		Against selling the next Turn
Mr John Gibson	Mr John Pasham	Mr Peter Dunkley
Mr Thomas Peach	Mr Joseph Matthews	Mr Lucas Ward
Mr Edward Bayly	Mr George Bayly	Mr Robert Tryers
Mr John Pawsitt	Mr Joseph Weston	Mr William Fabian
Mr George Hayes	Mr Richard More	Mr John Woolston
Mr William Williamson	Mr Thomas Gurney	Mr Hatton Howes
—	—	—
Mr George Tompson	Matthew Jolland	John Tebbutt
Mr Henry Jeffcott	William Gibson	Thomas Green
Mr Thomas Greenough	William Peach	Henry Cracwell
Mr Samuell Lambell	Robert Lucas	Richard Day
	Richard Wall	William Osborne

N.B.—Wm Clarke and Wm More appeared, but were Neuters, they refusing to vote.

At an assembly held in February, 1749, power was conferred on the mayor and such aldermen as reside in the parish of All Saints to sell the next avoydance of the vicarage and church of All Saints, to be sold for £300, and not under, "to be paid down in payment of the corporation's debts," and a bond be given to the purchaser that the clerk whom he shall nominate shall be lawfully presented to the said church within three calendar months after the church shall be void by the death or resignation of the present incumbent. It was further ordered that John Frost, the present curate, or his relations and friends, have the preference of purchase. As a sequel to this it may be recorded that John Frost was appointed vicar in 1752.

The following entry occurs in the orders of assembly on March 20th, 1794:—"The Revd Edward Miller clerk having been appointed to the Rectory of the Parish Church of All Saints, ordered that the expenses of the Presentation thereof forthwith be defrayed at the expense of this Corporation."

The assembly recommended on August 10th, 1802, that whenever there may happen any vacancy for a vicar of All Saints, that the

mayor for the time being call a meeting of the members of the corporation resident in that parish as early as possible for the purpose of conferring together as to the nomination.

Mr. Hall's MS. history relates that in 1804 the Rev. Mr. Miller, the vicar of All Saints dying, a sharp opposition took place to appoint a successor. "The candidates were Mr. Stoddart, the late curate, and Mr. Tufnell, the present one. The election lies in the members of the corporation residing in the parish, of whom 46 voted, 26 were for Mr. Tuffnell, and 20 for Mr. Stoddart; the latter had the misfortune to lose his sight some time by reason thereof many thought him ineligible in consequence."

In August, 1811, the corporation subscribed 25 guineas in aid of the subscription to the vicar of All Saints for his afternoon sermons.

A like sum was voted to the vicar "as a donation" in October, 1813, and again in 1814 and 1815.

The chamberlain's accounts for 1822 have the following entries:—"Paid the Rev^d. W^m. Thursby for expenses attending the presentation and induction to the living of All Saints by order of Assembly, £150. P^d do. gratuity voted to him by Assembly, £26 5s. 0d."

In the same year the assembly gave leave to the vicar of All Saints to exchange the parsonage house in Gold street for one in Marefair.

In January, 1824, the assembly voted £1000 to the patrons of the living of All Saints "to enable them to purchase and convey a Messuage or Tenement and Premises in Gold St in the occupation of Mr. Richard Henry which they have agreed to purchase as a residence for the Vicar of All Saints."

After the passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1835, the living was sold, in accordance with its provisions, for £1000 to Mr. Lewis Loyd, from whom it passed by descent to the late Lord Overstone, and subsequently to Lord Wantage, the present patron.

The Fabric.

The assembly held on January 18th, 1594-5, ordered a cess of £10 upon the parishioners of All Saints, towards the repair of their parish church, then "greatlie in decaye."

On April 4th, 1595, it is recorded in the order book that since the last assembly "a great parte of the churche is fallen

downe by means of the greate wynde that happened on Thursday (twentieth of March) last past So that the same cessment of tenne powndes is thought to little and insufficient for to sett the same in repaire agayne; therefore it is nowe agreed by consent of this assemblye that the same Scessment shallbe made Sixtene powndes thirtene shillinges and four pence." Mr. Thomas Craswell was chosen "Surveyor of the Worke."

With regard to this storm, Freeman's *History* says—"a great wind made such spoil of houses and trees, that no man durst set his foot out of doors; and having blown many large stones from the top of All Saints church on to the leads just before service it forced the roof down just over the mayor's seat so that if Mr. Mayor and his brethren had come never so little sooner they had been all in no little danger of death."

In 1617, extensive repairs were done to the steeple, and in 1619 there was again an alarm amongst the congregation lest "the Church would have fell in Service Time when a gale of wind was blowing."

In the great fire of September 20th, 1675, the church of All Saints was in the centre of the conflagration. The fabric was reduced to such a ruinous condition that nothing save the present west tower and its supporting arches could be re-used, when its successor was designed.

Through the energies of Dr. Conant, funds were rapidly raised for the re-building. It was re-opened on September 5th, 1680 when Dr. Lloyd, the bishop of Peterborough, preached the sermon. This date is commemorated in the inscription over the mayor's seat, in the corporation pew.—

ANNO MAIORATUS II^i RICARDI WHITE ANNO DOM. 1680

The names of the contributors to the new church have been already given in a previous section, after describing the great fire.

Henry Lee, in his manuscript account of the town, describes the new church as built upon the foundations of the old chancel, adding that "many thought the old church as large as some cathedrals." A good deal that has not been printed might be brought together about the fine old cruciform church but this is not the place for such an effort. In the proceedings of the *Northampton and Oakham Architectural Society* for 1881 is a paper on this church, about which a word of warning must be

given. The paper is illustrated by an enlargement from a fraudulent and wholly imaginative view of the old town of Northampton, which was issued in a local publication printed in 1844, to commemorate the entry of Queen Victoria into the town on her way to Burleigh house. It is surprising that neither the writer of the paper, nor the draughtsman of the view of the church detected the clumsy fraud.

The great west portico of the church was not completed till 1701. Extending the whole width of the church, it is supported by twelve pillars, and surmounted by an effective balustraded cornice, ornamented with urns.

In the winter of 1703 it was decided, with questionable taste, to beautify the summit of the tower with an open cupola and fane. The vestry passed the following resolutions on April 17th, and June 19th, 1704, respectively:—

That the new Churchwardens take to their assistance such workmen and Artists as they shall think fitt To consult and advise about setting and fixing the Cupilo upon the Steeple with the Fane upon the same for the best advantage and Ornament of the place.

That Alderman Selby Alderman Collins and Alderman Ivory Mr Henry Jeffcut and Mr George Hayes Assist the present Church Wardens in the ordering of the Fane and Setting the same upon the Cupiloe on the Steeple.

No sooner was the portico erected than its convenient and attractive shelter gave rise to an unexpected trouble and expense. It became a favourite resort of the troublesome boys of the town. In 1702 an order was made to allow one of the serjeants twenty shillings a year for "cleering the Portico and Churchyard of boyes." This order was afterwards vacated, but it was renewed at Christmas, 1705, when ten shillings was voted to William Wallis, a serjeant, "for his care in cleering the churchyard and Portico of the boys and others playing there till Easter next."

On November 24th, 1707, the vestry invoked legal diocesan aid for a like purpose, the minutes of that date containing the following entry:—

It is the desire of this Vestry to Mr Chancellor that he will make an Order to cleere the Porticoe of the Church of idle boyes and louse fellows playing there and to cause the same to be affixed on the church dore in the portico.

Further resolutions of the vestry about this period show that the condition and use of the portico gave continuous trouble. One of the last resolutions on this subject that appears in the parish books is dated February 1st, 1713, when the vestry ordered:—

That William Lane be allowed and paid Twenty Shillings per ann by the Churchwardens for cleering the Porticoe of the church and keeping the same cleane and free from boyes and loose fellows and alsoe the grave stones and churchyard

The court of aldermen had the same matter before them in 1717, when it was resolved to spend five shillings of the town funds in cleaning the portico of All Saints of "dirt and filth," and to request the vestry to see to it being kept decent and free from noisy boys.

On September 4th, of the same year, an order was made for gilding the ball and fane on the top of the cupola, and at the same time an assessment of £60 was voted towards the repairs of the church, and the cost of erecting the cupola

The town now desired to further ornament the imposing portico and strange to say, decided upon placing in the centre of the parapet a statue of Charles II., in memory of his having given "a thousand tons of timber towards the rebuilding of this church, and to this town seven years chimney money collected in it." The mayor's accounts for 1711-12 show that £4 15s was spent "in placing up King Charles and finding all Materials and Laborour," £4 10s. "for Stone and Carridge" of the same, as well as 14s to "John Huching for Cullering King Charles." Not satisfied with colouring or painting the presentment of the merry monarch over the main entrance to the House of God, the corporation in the next year paid £3 "to Mr. Hunt for Gilding ye stature of King Charles ye Second." Faint traces of the colour and gilding still remain. The king is absurdly represented in the impossible combination of a Roman toga and greaves, with a long curling wig!

Immediately below the statue of the king are the royal arms, effectively carved in bold relief. Though the town paid for the statue, the parish paid for the arms upon the portico, Mr Hunt receiving for the latter £9 by vote of the vestry on April 21st, 1712

The Seats.

But little is to be gleaned from the assembly orders with regard to the seating of the church before the great fire.

At the assembly held on March 15th, 1566, it was ordered:—

That from this daye forward that hathe ben haylys off the towne of Northampton shall syt or place thereselffes on the Sondaye or other festivall dayes in the body of the Parish Church of All Sayntes, but in the time off the Redinge of the sacred scriptures or sermons in the chapell heretofore apointed in paine of forfaiture

That the Master of the Freeschoole and the Schollers now taught by his Sa placed in the Chancell and that noe others sitt in the Chancell, except persons of Quality that sitt in the 2 front seats of the Chancell And that all other persons be removed out of the Chancell by the Church Officers.

In 1702 the following quaint order was passed by the vestry to prevent daughters sitting with their mothers:—

That Locks be putt on the Seat dores of the Bailiffs wives and 48 men to keepe out young mayds.

The odious habit of appropriated pews and class distinctions in church led, as in this case, to a distinction being made between married and unmarried women solely on the score of dignity. There are several cases on record where girls were actually sued in ecclesiastical courts for sitting with their mothers. A case is recorded in Archdeacon Hall's *Proceedings in the Diocese of London*, of a young woman named Hayward, "that she beinge a young mayde sat in the pewe with her mother, to the great offence of many reverent women; howbeit that after I, Peter Lewis the vicar, had in the church privatlie admonished the said young mayde of her fault, and advised her to sitt at her mother's greate dore, she obeyed; but now she sits againe with her mother."

The assembly ordered, on December 21st, 1730:—

That Mr Bumington have authority under the Corporation Seal if their Counsel shall advise the same to be necessary to pray a License or Faculty concerning the Pews in the Parish Church of All Saints in the said town now in Dispute between the Corporation and some of the Parishioners.

Amongst the corporation deeds are two official licenses or faculties for corporation pews.

The first of these is dated July 18th, 1735, and is a license for the mayor, deputy recorder, and aldermen of the town, as well as their wives and widows, and for the town clerk and other corporation officers, to sit in several seats of the parish church of All Saints.

The second document is dated July, 1737, and is a faculty issued to Joseph Matthews and John Pasham for appropriating seven pews in the church of All Saints to the use of themselves, the aldermen, bailiffs and burgesses of the town, and their wives and widows.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there are various entries in the chamberlains' accounts for basses and hassocks in the mayor's, aldermen's, and aldermen's wives' seats.

Thomas Carr Mr John Labram Church Wardens and other parishioners the there present.

Wee doe Order that the 20s formerly ordered to an Organist be discharged the future. And that the mony for the Bell and grave be appropriated to as formerly 5l being already payd by the Churchwardens to be allowed

Thirteen signatures follow, but it is stated in a marginal that this order was made and entered after Dr. King went the vestry.

On the following day, the vicar and churchwardens repu the foregoing statement, and appended this strongly w explanatory note :—

Memorandum that the Order bearing date the seaventeenth day of the March and said to be ordered before Dr King Minister and Mr Thomas Ca Mr John Labram Churchwardens is a notorious falsity And Wee the Ma Churchwardens of the parish of All Saints in Northampton do hereby and declare that Wee were not present at the time of entering the said Or that it was entered and Ordered contrary to our approbation and Consen consequently very illegall Witness our hands the 18th day of March Dni 1706.

Benja King DD Vic.
Thomas Carr } Churchwardens.
John Labram }

In 1826-27, the mayor's accounts have an entry of £8 "singers at All Saints church." This was probably on the oc of the anniversary sermon for the Society for the Propagati the Gospel, when the corporation were present in state, and "musicians and constables attending the procession" £3 11s.

In 1818 the assembly subscribed £30 towards the altera the organ gallery.

The organ was re-constructed in 1844 at an expense of In 1884 the instrument was unfortunately removed to an chamber on the north side of the chancel.

The Bells

In 1683, the assembly ordered a cess of £30 upo parishioners of All Saints, towards the re-casting and re-b the ring of six bells, and seem to have made up the consid requisite deficiency out of the chamber or common town fun

The corporation renewed the chimes of All Saints in 16 gave a new set in 1800

The interest that the town at large took in the bells of the incipal church was only fair, for the bells were frequently used r order of the assembly for town as opposed to parish purposes is exemplified in several other parts of this volume.

A vestry resolution of 1696 shows that the parishioners at that me allowed the third bell to be used as the school bell of the wn's free school :—

Ordered that the 3rd Bell be Rung by the Under Sexton this Summer at Six the Clock in the morning to give notice to the Free Schoole Schollers to hasten Schoole, and from Michls to Lady day at seaven of the Clock, except on Sundays as formerly.

In 1677 it was ordered by the vestry that every one should pay s. to the assessment fund of All Saints "for tolling and ringing he great bell upon the death of any person, to be paid to the hurchwardens of the said parish before the said bell toll." A like rder, with regard to the great bell, was made at the same time y the assembly, to cover, we suppose, the case of non-parishioners.

At the like date, the vestry resolved that the charge for tolling nd ringing the fifth bell should be 2s. 6d.; out of which 6d. was be paid to the sexton, and 4d. to the clerk.

A further order was made in 1680, to the following effect.

That the great Bell shall begin to Toll for those that are to be buryed [illegible] ur of the Invitation to the funerall and that it shall toll one ful. [illegible] ore. But if the Bell toll longer then there shall be payd two shillings [illegible] r hour for every hour it shall toll longer And in like manner [illegible] ur for the 5th Bell And the small Bell not to toll longer than [illegible]

A charitable order was made in 1681, whereby it was [illegible] at "the third bell be tolled gratis for poore prisoners

In 1695 the first bell was re-cast, when the vestry [illegible] larch 26th —

That Mr Bagly Cast the first Bell and returne weight [illegible] payd fifty shillings for casting the same: And [illegible] st and weight for weight returned and payd for by the [illegible]

"Mr. Bagly of this resolution, would [illegible] the well-known Northamptonshire bel[illegible]

Towards the end of the same year the [illegible] nging. A parish cess of £30 was made [illegible] ork being done by one "John. Baxter [illegible]

Bagley's re-casting of the first [illegible] it was again re-cast in [illegible]

In 1782 eight new bells were placed in the tower, founded by Chapman & Mears, of London. They are still in use.

Customs of the Church, 1620.

The earliest of the church books now extant is of the year 1620. It opens with an elaborate statement as to the use the volume was to be put, followed by an interesting record of the customs of the church then prevalent.

This Booke was provided for the parishe church of All Saincte[illegible] in the Towne of Northampton aforesaide the Tenth day of December in the yeare [illegible] God 1620 and in the Eighteenth Yeare of the raign of our soveraign Lord [illegible] James, and of Scotland the foure and fifuth, Mr Henry Chadwicke then [illegible] maior of the saide towne, Mr. Jeremiah Lewis then being vicar of the said [illegible] John Danby and John Harbert being then churchwardens of the saide parishe [illegible] the recording of all such auncient customes and duties as have bene heretofore used and taken within the saide parishe, and also for the recording of the [illegible] of the Churchwardens and Sidesmen yeerely to be chosen for the saide parishe [illegible] of all such sumes of money as shall hereafter be agreed upon at any yeere [illegible] repaire of the church aforesaide, or any other business concerning the same Church and of all suche plate carpetts cushions candlestickes, surplesses and other [illegible] mentes bookes and other moveables as are belonging to the same Church [illegible] end that it may appear in whose tyme any of the same thinges are or shall [illegible] that due satisfaction may be made to the parishe for the same.

First it is the auncient custome of this parishe that the Churche wardens [illegible] appoint seates in the Church for every newe married Couple and have [illegible] placing of their wives xij^{d} which they doe employe about the repaire of the Church.

If the same parties growe to better estates or come to beare any office [illegible] said towne, they are to be removed higher to other seates according to the [illegible] cretion of the Churchwardens of the same parishe without any further payment.

3 Item it is the auncient custome of this parish to take for every parishioner that shall dye in this parishe that hath the great Bell toled for him [illegible]

And more to the Sexton xij^{d}.

And to the Clarke vi^{d}

And for everyone of another parishe that hath the great Bell of this [illegible] toled for him iij^{d}

And more to the Sexton i^{d}

And to the Clarke [illegible]

4 Item if any of the said parishe be buried in the said church they pay [illegible] breaking up of the ground towards the repaire of the same church xij^{d} [illegible]

And they are to bring into the same Church within one month next [illegible] sufficient gritstone to cover the same grave, or else to pay unto [illegible] parishe for the repaire of the same church [illegible]

5 Item if any of the same parishe be buried in the Chauntell they pay [illegible] breaking up of the ground towards the repaire of the said church vj^{s} viij^{d}

Romanists. The thanksgiving service for August 5th was the one relative to the "Gowrie House Conspiracy" of August, 1600 when it was alleged that the king was saved from assassination.

In 1625 it is stated that all the goods above named were delivered to the new churchwardens, with the addition of "a grene broadclothe carpet with a grene silk fringe for the Communion table and one Lynnen Clothe for the same table."

In 1627 the same inventory was repeated, with these additions "Three wholl ladders, two broken ladders, one sledge hamer and twoe cables or pullie Ropes of six score two pennies weights and one grene velvet cushin."

In 1635 "four firre poles, one and twentie formes, and two Tomes of Homilies" are the additions to the usual inventory and in 1636 two fire-hooks are also mentioned.

The altar plate of this large church was singularly poor, according to the 1621 inventory, the vessels being all of pewter save the "twoe silver bowles." At the visitation held on October 16th 1637, the commissioners reported that "The Communion cups were like drinking-bowls, and ordered them to be made chalice fashion."

Dr. Conant, the vicar of All Saints at the time of the fire, married the daughter of Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich. The bishop died in 1670, and in 1677 his widow, who came to live at Northampton, gave to her son-in-law's church "Two large flagons, two large chalices with their covers, two dishes for the reception of offerings, and two dishes for the bread, to be used for the celebration of the Eucharist," all of silver.

During the latter part of Dr. Conant's incumbency, the assembly and vestry sanctioned his employment of a curate, though neither authority pledged themselves as to the salary. The curate's stipend in 1680 was not forthcoming, and he appealed in vain both to the assembly and to the bishop. At the vestry meeting held April 27th, 1681, it was ordered:—

> That what moneys was raised by the sale of the materials of the boxes taken down in the Churchyard be paid to Mr Collins the Curate towards part of his arrears.

A far more questionable method was adopted towards raising Mr Collin's stipend in the following year. It is strange to think that the bishop should have connived at the scandal of selling the Holy Communion plate for such a purpose, though Mrs Reynolds recent gift afforded some justification.

At a Vestry held the First day of Jany 1682 In the Parish Church of All Saints 'Conant being Vicar Mr Samuel Short and Mr Robert Styles being Churchwardens ith divers Parishoners then and there present.

Ordered then that the two old Silver Cuppes and two Silver plates be sold by he Church Wardens and the moneys Paid to Mr Collins towardes paying off his ssures if the Bishop will be pleased to give his order or leave for the same

On June 15th, the bishop's consent was obtained in the following ords:—

The Right Reverend Father in God William Lord Bishop of Petersborough hee ven free leave to the Churchwardens of the parish of All Sts Northton to sell and spose of the old Church Plate provided the money thereby rayseed be imployed to yment of the Church or Parish debts which relate to the church witness my hand

Tho Sheppard.

The following entry and receipt are in the vestry book under ate August 17th. 1683:—

Memorandum that the old cupps and plates being the Parish plate was sold Mr Bayly for Seven Pounds and Five Shillings.

Received then of Mr William Wallis and Mr John Carr Churchwardens of the arish of All Saints the aforesaid sum of Seven Pounds Five Shillings by Mr amuel Collins late Clerke of the said Parish in part of the Arrears due to me for erving the cure same Witness my hand the day and yeare aforesaid

Sam Conant

These different accounts of the [illegible] plate of All Saints are somewhat conflicting [illegible] silver cups and the two silver plates of the [illegible] those pewterers after the [illegible]

SEXTON

The sexton of All Saints [illegible] ranked among the [illegible] to be pewterers [illegible]

In 1[illegible] [illegible] for ringing the [illegible] clerk of All Saints [illegible] towards the grounding [illegible]

It was agreed [illegible] Nutt, sexton of All Saints [illegible] yearlie [illegible]

In [illegible] paid to John [illegible] cloth for a [illegible]

at his own charge. He was also ordered, in common with bellman and the waits, to wear on his livery coat the cog or badge of the town. If any sexton refused to make up wear the coat and badge, then he forfeited the allowance

In 1637 "it is agreed and ordered that whereas John Sexton of All Saints is now sued in Law for taking of S due (see page 269), being aunciently due to the towne Cr Sexton, for corne brought to the Markett Hill, That the shalbe defended at the charge of the Corporation out of Chamber."

On September 13th, 1666, the conduct of Jeremiah Fr sexton of All Saints, was brought before the court of the and the aldermen. He was accused of speaking many words of the mayor, of many misdemeanours, of a lewd life of keeping a disorderly house. The court being fully satisfied the truth of these charges removed him at once from his office

The vestry, however, of All Saints, disputed the right of mayor's court to dismiss a sexton. Although clothed, and considerable extent paid at the cost of the corporation the ec iastical courts upheld the claim of the vestry or parishioners. further period of twelve years the parish persisted in retaining services of the dissolute Friend, and when at last they discha him, they absolutely chose one who was at that time in p (possibly only for debt) as his successor.

At the vestry held on January 28th, 1678, it was ordered

That Jeremy Freind should be and is dismissed and put out of his p Sexton of the Church of All Saints

At the same Vestry John Symons elected into the Sexton place for the church of All Saints whereas it was ordered that if John Symons did not pro Lyberty out of prison within six weeks tyme then there should be another called to choose another Sexton.

In 1719, and for many subsequent years Robert W mentioned as sexton both in the vestry books, and in the r of the aldermen's court. In 1742 he was succeeded in his off John Cox.

In 1750 Peter Quenby, who was one of the forty-eigh displaced from that office by reason of his poverty, which le to accept the position of sexton to All Saints, in the ro William Spence, recently deceased The appointment of Quenby, if not actually made by the mayor and aldermen certainly confirmed by them, and is recorded in their journa

In the chamberlain's accounts, 1764, Richard Claridge, sexton, is paid £1 6s. 8d. for attending the mayor to church. In the same accounts the following names of sextons appear under their respective years for a like salary.—1771, John Wright; 1776, John Cox; 1784, Samuel Wright; 1791, Charles Wright; and 1821, John Wright.

VARIA.

The following details, connected with the church of All Saints, that are of some interest, are taken from the town or church records.

A remarkable order was made by the assembly in 1585, to the effect that every person, of whatsoever degree, that communicated at the church of All Saints, should pay at every time they received the communion one farthing, over and besides their Easter due. The churchwardens were to make a true account of these farthings to Mr. Mayor twice a year, namely, the week after Easter, and the week after "Bartholomewtide." Such a collection of communicants' farthings (altogether apart from voluntary alms) to be applied to civil uses is surely unprecedented!

At a vestry held on December 18th, 1694, it was

Ordered that there be payd to the Church Wardens for everyone that shall be buryed in the Portico Fifteen shillings as formerly and for everyone that shall be buryed in that part of the Churchyard that lyeth on the West of the Church Steeple Five shillings besides other Dues And if any ground be opened before the Church Wardens have received the Money due as aforesaid That the Church Wardens shall be answerable for the same And yt is further ordered that all those persons that do not pay by reason of their poverty to the Churche Poore shall be buryed at the uper part or End of the Church yard that lyes on the Eastside of the Church.

A further resolution concerning the charge for tombstones in different parts of the churchyard, was passed at a vestry held 27th March 1733 —

Ordered at the same vestry that no person shall Erect a Hutstock or Tombstone in the first Church Yard without paying the sum of five pounds into the Hands of the Churchwarden before the same shall be erected and that no person shall erect the same in the Back Churchyard without paying the sum of fifty shillings as before directed.

Chimes were given to the church at the expense of the corporation in the time of Elizabeth, and again after the great fire. In 1727 the assembly complained of the irregularity of the church clock and chimes, with the result that the vestry entered into a contract with Thomas Eyers, of Kettering, clockmaker, to keep the clock and chimes in good and sufficient repair, and well going, for twenty-one years, at an annual payment of 40s.

In 1820 a subscription was made amounting to £800, with which was purchased two houses standing at the north-east of the church of All Saints, of Edward Parkinson They were taken down to the great improvement of that part of the town. Several county gentlemen subscribed liberally.

The corporation claimed the right of sanctioning the erection of monuments within the church, and receiving the fees for the same. The last instance of this is in 1822, when the assembly gave leave to the executors of the late Mr. Kirby to erect a monument in the church of All Saints, on payment of the usual fees provided the mayor and justices approve of the design

Other Churches of the Town.

The churches of Northampton were remarkably numerous Five churches of All Saints, St Sepulchre, St. Giles, and St Peter still exist. The others were the churches of St Mary St. Katharine, St. Gregory, and St. Michael, the great church of St. Andrew's priory, the four churches of the four orders of friars, and the chapels of St. John, St Martin, and the Rood-in-the-Wall, all within the town gates. Outside, but within the liberties, there were the churches of St. Lawrence and St Bartholomew on the north, St. Edmund on the east, St. Margaret (pertaining to the abbey of St. James) on the west and St Leonard on the south; as well as south bridge chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the chapel of St. Thomas' almshouses

The town records contain a few incidental references to some of them.

St. Katharine's was a chapel-of-ease to All Saints It was surrounded by a burial ground of some size. Leland, writing in the time of Henry VIII. says—"There is a Chapelle of St Caterine sette in a cemetarie in the towne longging to the Churche of Alhalowes"

It has been generally assumed that this church or chapel was pulled down at the time of the Reformation, but the town records show that the windows and roof were repaired at the town charge in 1587

We are not able, however to prove that it was at this time used for any purposes of worship, whilst a lease granted a few years later, points clearly to its being used for secular purposes

In 1602 the assembly granted a lease for forty-one years to Edward Henseman, mercer, of the churchyard of

S' Katherines Church or Chappell and the grounde and soile whereupon the saide churche or chappell and the walls thereof stande, and the groundes wayes and passages thereto belonging from the goeing out of the College lane throughout the saide church yarde to the lanes ende leading to the horsemarket at a rental of forty shillings with a covenant for the making repairing and maintayning of two crosse moundes for the inclosing and separating of the same, thone at the weste ende of the same, next the College lane where a paire of gates lately were thother cross wall or mound at the west ende of the lane.

The lease also reserved to the mayor and burgesses all the stone and timber of the building, with free access for removing it, and also free liberty for the burial in the churchyard "of all suche dead as yt shall please god at anie tyme to visite with the plague or any extraordinarie or infectious death"

It was ordered, in 1610, that St. Katharine's churchyard should be walled up at the Horsemarket end, and a gate made for the end abutting upon College lane, and that the two lanes called Ivie lane and Ball's lane should be taken in and walled up at both ends.

In 1612 Edward Mercer obtained leave to erect a small house in the churchyard, and was granted a lease thereof for 41 years, at a shilling rental.

It was agreed on August 23rd, 1631, "that suche and soe much of the walls of S. Katherine's Chappell shalbe taken down and the stone thereof arising shalbe employed to the repaire of the Town Hall, as the chamberlains of this towne shall thinke fitt and appoint."

The quarry, however, of St. Katharine's was not yet exhausted, for at the outbreak of the commonwealth disturbances, the remains of this fabric were utilised in repairing the town walls and other fortifications.

The church of ST. MARY, which stood in St. Mary's street, was also united to All Saints in 1549. Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the town were desirous that the small income of this old vicarage should be appropriated as a stipend for the usher or second master of the free school.

At the assembly held in July, 1684, it was agreed that

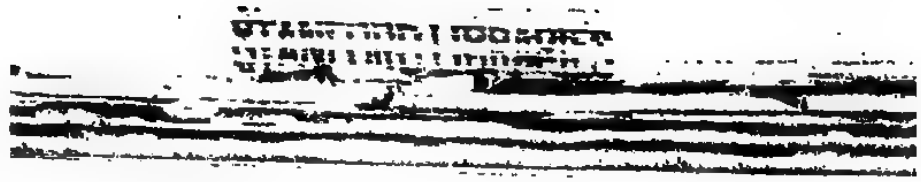
Ther shalbe a letter directed to the L. Bysshoppe of Peterborowe for the procureinge and getteinge of the vicaridge of S' maries Towards the mayntayneinge and Kepeing of one usher for the Teacheinge of Chyldren at the Freeskoole under M'

Saundeurson, but yff the same vicaredge cannot be obteyned at the Byshoppes hands then yt ys agreed that Mr Saunderson shall provyde a sufficient usher and be to have Twentie Shillinges a yere paid hym owte of the chamber of the Towne Towards his maynteynance.

This church in early days was sometimes called St Mary's by the Castle, and was used officially for various purposes when the court was at Northampton. In 1318, the chancellor (John de Sendale, Bishop of Winchester) was with the king at Northampton. On July 20th, he left Northampton as royal envoy to the Earl of Lancaster, and delivered the great seal to William the senior chancery clerk. The seal was then, according to custom sealed up in a bag by William and his two fellow clerks and deposited for safe keeping in the church of St. Mary. But the same day the king required the great seal for witnessing certain documents, so the three clerks proceeded to the church and there opened the bag and used it.

The church of ST. GREGORY which used to stand to the east of St. Peter's, in the narrow street which still bears the name of St. Gregory, was one of those small parish churches which ceased to have any separate existence after the Reformation. Bridges gives a list of incumbents, the date of the last appointment being 1532. The parish was annexed to All Saints. Cardinal Pole in the short reign of Queen Mary, bestowed the fabric of the church on the corporation for use as a school house. Up to that date the church had remained unmolested.

In the first volume of the orders of assembly, under the date of June 6th, 1556, there are several entries relative to the "weight of the leades belles and somes of money come to the handes of Anthony Bryan of and concernings the churche of St Gregorie." One Randall Smythe was the purchaser of the lead, and on June 26th handed over £10 to the town in part payment for two fodders of lead. Entries are then begun to be made of the weight of lead that Smythe, who was a carter by trade, removed from the church day by day. Up to July 9th, he had taken 41 cwts 2 qrs. Here unfortunately, the entries came to an end, eight pages of the book having been torn out. Otherwise we should probably have known several more interest particulars as to the fate of St Gregory's when it was being demolished and turned into a school house. On pulling down the old buildings in 1840, various portions of the church came to light, including a Norman arcade in good preservation.



SECTION ELEVEN.

The Defences of Northampton

and the

Commonwealth Struggle.

Grants of murage—Walls re-built 1301—Bailiffs responsible for their repair—The town gates and bridges—Frequent bridge assessments—The great civil strife—Ship money denied by Northampton—Refusal of trained bands to leave the liberties—Northampton garrisoned for the Parliament—Work at the Fortifications—Scout horsemen—Trees felled—The garrison and the covenant—Raising of volunteers—Demolition of the walls and castle—Soldiers and trained bands—Troops for the Elizabethan wars in Ireland—Billeting soldiers 1627-9—Muster roll of 1667—Volunteers of 1794—Arms and Armour, *temp.* Elizabeth and James—Town arms and munition in 1643—Arms surrendered in 1662—Watch and ward—Elizabethan regulations—The Orders of 1645.

but the far bigger grant of 1301 would probably suffice, o
considerable contribution towards the very serious undertak
the new walling of an enlarged and extended town

The descriptions, drawings, and remains of the old wall
that they were mainly of Edwardian date. The last quarter
13th century, and the first quarter of the 14th, were busy
throughout England, not only in re-constructing castles bu
town walls on newer and improved principles.

The walls are said to have been of considerable width so
they admitted of six persons walking abreast.

In 1378 the mayor and bailiffs were warned by letters pate
repair the defects in the town walls, turrets, dykes, and
defences with all speed. All the town was to contribute to
work, save the privileged, the feeble, and the mendicant poo

Another royal murage grant of tolls for two years was ma
1400.

The orders of the privy council for February, 1540-50,
sanction for five loads of stone to be taken out of "the Step
St Edmunds' in Northampton" for the repairing of the town
and of the west bridge. It was further ordered that if
quantity of stone did not suffice, that as much as was req
should be taken from "the Graunge of St Andrews."

The maintenance of the town walls, gates, and bridges
naturally a source of continued expenditure to the town of N
ampton. The references to their repairs in the surviving
records are frequent.

In 1594 the walls seem to have been in an exceptionally
plight. The assembly agreed:—

That there shalbe a scessement made of Thirtie poundes towards the re
the towne Walles which are nowe in great decaye and a great part fallen do
readie to fall more and more, And those persons whose names doe fo
appoynted Scessors to scesse everie man indifferentlie according to his ab
witt, Thomas Craswell, Thomas Cowper, John Denbrook, John Mayrard
Coles, William Cockyn, Richard Watts, and Thomas Walker, to be re
the constables in their severall wardes.

The first business of the assembly that met at the Gu
on September 14th, 1599, was the condition of the walls —

Imprimis yt ys agreed and ordayned that the bailiffes elected to sr pple t
of bailwicke of this towne for the yeare next ensueing the feast of St Mic
shall at their own proper costes and charges in ad good and artificiall man
and build or cause to be erected and builded one pearche of the towne wall

gate. Six shillings and eightpence was [illegible] at the same [illegible] to Baldwyn Bernard, Esquire, towards making up the [illegible] the town walls at Pyrfoot, for which he was responsible.

It was this comparative scarcity and great costliness [illegible] owing to the distance of suitable quarries, and the [illegible] effective water carriage, that caused old Northampton to [illegible] so largely of timber. Stone was found near the surface in [illegible] mediate neighbourhood of the town, but of a poor and [illegible] quality. In 1602 a stone pit was dug on the town lands [illegible] the east gate. It was leased to Richard Adams and Edward [illegible] by the mayor, who were allowed to sell the rough stone to the [illegible] ants at sixpence a load, upon condition of their repairing [illegible] part of the south bridge from one end to the other 'within a [illegible] continuing to keep the same in good repair. To avoid [illegible] were also required to make a sufficient fence and [illegible] pit or quarry. But this stone quarry of Messrs. Adams & [illegible] was clearly not a success, for though they thoroughly repair[illegible] south bridge and south gate in 1602 early in James' reig[illegible] bridge and gate required very considerable renewal in [illegible] Hence the bailiffs wisely refrained from resorting to the [illegible] stone pit for the repair of the town walls.

In their anxiety to leave no means untried for the re[illegible] the town walls, the town authorities went dangerously [illegible] compounding a felony in 1610. In January, of that ye[illegible] assembly decided that, as one William Wheeler dyer, had [illegible] himself, and acknowledged diverse injuries that he had d[illegible] had promised to pay the costs incurred in prosecuting him [illegible] son and daughter, and also to rebuild a perch of the tow[illegible] he should be fully restored into the company.

In 1611 an order was made that henceforth the cham[illegible] should pay yearly out of the common fund £5 for the rep[illegible] amendment of the decayed places of the town walls, where[illegible] may think it most fit and convenient to be amended. At t[illegible] time the present and past bailiffs who had not obeyed the o[illegible] as to the annual perches were to be fined £3 6s. 8d. apiece [illegible] paid to the chamberlain, who was to cause the arrears in [illegible] building to be at once undertaken.

In addition to the walls, the mediæval town of North[illegible] was also defended, particularly on the west, by a series of [illegible] or earthworks, which were probably the remains of th[illegible]

Conquest ramparts adapted to the days of greater defensive skill. Down to the time of the Commonwealth, it was usual in corporation leases of lands and tenements that bordered or comprised parts of these earthworks, to have a clause specially providing for the repair and maintenance of the "mounds. Some of the mounds were at right angles to the walls, and were termed "cross mounds."

There were various dykes and ditches in connection with the sluices and mill runs on the south side of the town, but there was also a considerable ditch or fosse all round beneath the walls. Among the earlier recorded orders of the assembly is one directing the annual scouring and cleansing of these ditches by the chamberlain He had the power of calling upon every householder to help in the work, either personally, or through a deputy or servant, and in default of labour he could summarily levy fourpence. In 1612 it was ordered "that the inhabitants of the towne shall allowe and pay xiij' iiij^d yearlie to the Chamberlains of the towne of Northampton for and towards the scouring of the arches and ditches belonging to the towne of Northampton."

This term "arches" leads us to the brief consideration of the gates and bridges of the town. The town was laid out about 1300, on a fairly geometrical plan (see plan at the end of this volume), with the checker or market place in the centre, and with outlying wards corresponding to, and named after the four points of the compass. Entrance would be obtained through the walls to each of these wards respectively, by the north, south, east, and west gates. There was also, in addition to two or three small postern gates, another gate of some importance termed the Dernegate, which was the gate leading down to the mills and sluices of the river Nene There seems no reasonable doubt that the name is derived from the Celtic *dwr* or water, which we find in Derwent, Darent, and other old river names, and probably is an interesting reminiscence of the rude earthworks with an opening to the river that occupied this site in pre-historic days.

In the highly interesting and long account of the town of Northampton contained in the hundred rolls of Edward I. (1275) mention is also made of a sixth gate, which was very near to the south gate. This opening in the walls, which was doubtless a small one, was termed the Cow gate, and served for the exit and entry of the cattle to the adjacent pastures or cow meadow.

The four fortified gate-houses all had rooms over the archway,

but the one to the east, according to Bridges, was the large loftiest, and the most embellished.

The south gate, however, which was the entrance from Lond was the one of the most importance It was separated from th bridge by a considerable interval, which was eventually built ove termed the outer south quarter, or more usually the south quarte or even by the still shorter name of the quarter. Close to th south gate, just outside the wall, was the hospital of St Thom of Canterbury, but a far older foundation than this was the bridg chapel, also dedicated to the same St. Thomas, which stood part on the bridge piers on the further or Cotton side of the wate

From this circumstance the south bridge now and again went by the name of St. Thomas' bridge. There was a second strong gate way on the south side on the bridge itself, and in front of th archway there was no regular causeway, but a drawbridge fell down between the piers. On the piers at the town end of th bridge there was a small hermitage and other tenements

From the west, Northampton was also approached by a bridge which spanned the narrower of the two heads into which the Nen divides itself close to the town. Here, too, was a drawbridge over one of the arches, and another hermitage at the bridge approach

In 1608 an assessment of £40 was voted by the assembly for the repair of "the west bridge and other bridges within the town of Northampton" which were very ruinous. In 1615 a further sum of £20 was raised by assessment for the repair of the "west bridge and other bridges." The south bridge was repaired in 1621 at a cost of £20. It was reported to the assembly that met on July 5th 1622, that "an arch of the west bridge next to the Armitage by the great violence and force of the late waters and floods is ruinated, so that there ys noe passage for people nor for Cattle and carriages over the same," with the result that a levy of £4 was ordered to be instantly collected. In 1623 the west bridge was again reported as out of repair, as well as the bridges next to Mr. Chadwick's and Fisher's houses respectively and a small levy of £13 6s. 8d. was ordered.

The "other bridges" not infrequently named in the orders usually referred to the dry bridges or arches over the town ditch or fosse, which were a necessity at the east and north gates, as well as the Dernegate, or wherever the wall was pierced for traffic We have found two or three allusions in the orders of Elizabeth and

£148 a week for the relief of the sick from the plague in Northampton, being so heavy a charge. He had proceeded as roundly as he could with the numerous defaulters, having distrained the goods of about 200 men, and imprisoned some; but the prison being in Northampton, where scarce any man dare venture for fear of infection, has been a great hindrance to the service.

The next question in which the independent borough of Northampton found itself at issue with the crown, was the endeavour made by the deputy lieutenants of the shire, to insist upon the town paying an assessment towards the general military forces and sanctioning the removal of their bands and arms outside the liberties of the town.

These requests involved a complete break with the immemorial customs of Northampton, if not with their definite charter rights.

In 1639, letters were addressed to the town authorities by the deputy lieutenants, to raise £14. 6s. 8d., for the conducting and furnishing of soldiers into the northern parts for his majesty's service. Thereupon a motion was made in the assembly for cess to cover this amount and other moneys laid out in apparelling soldiers, but the assembly by a large majority rejected the motion. The mayor, Richard Fowler, however, caused a cess of £30 to be made by the constables on this behalf, apparently on his sole authority. Some paid this cess, but the greater part refused because it had not been ordered by the assembly. On July 21st, the assembly took the matter again into consideration, when, "for divers goods causes and being much importuned," they voted £14. 16s. 8d., out of the chamber stock.

Letters were received from the deputy lieutenants in April, 1640, requiring £32 for conduct money, and coats for the soldiers. The assembly was summoned on April 27th, and again refused to comply "for diverse good causes, and that Mr Maior shall retorne no other answere but that the corporation will not yeild either to the payement or cessment of it, without telling the names of any particular person of this Assemblie whoe are against it, and that Mr Maior shalbe kept Indemnified by the Corporation for anie trouble or danger that shall come unto him by Retorneing of that answere."

At the same assembly it was reported that the deputy lieutenants required the trained men and town arms to be sent to Weldon. It was answered that they shall go and be sent at this present.

same." At the same time, in token that it was the system and the head of it that was hated, a liberal grant was made to the of tonnage and poundage, and all other custom duties. No d it was this straightforward action of the national parliament encouraged the local assembly of Northampton in its bold resist to other royal demands at exactly the same period

The Fortifying of Northampton.

At last the continued and unhappy divisions between the ki and parliament came to an issue, and on August 22nd, 1642, royal standard was raised at Nottingham. Northampton at o became a garrison for the parliament, under the command of L Brooke. A pamphlet published on September 9th of that ye describes Northampton as having a strong garrison in it, and w walls and fortifications strongly repaired An assault had b made upon the town by the royalists, but they had been repul chiefly by two pieces of ordnance, which played on them for hours, when they retired with the loss of twenty men

On September 9th, the Earl of Essex, the commander-in-c of the parliamentary forces, arrived at Northampton, where t men were assembled, and thence marched into Worcestershire

Although the walls and fortifications had been sufficiently paired to resist the skirmishing attack of the royalists at the of August, they were still in a very delapidated condition.

When the assembly met on November 15th, 1642 the business for consideration was the pressing need of improving fortifications and outworks of the town for the preservation of inhabitants and their property then much threatened through dangers of civil war. Eventually the assembly voted £100 towa the scheme, and appointed assessors in each ward to levy the on those of ability In May, 1643, a further order was m directing every householder to send every day one out of his h at one o'clock in the afternoon to labour on the fortifications, to continue in that work till six o'clock in the evening, under of 6d. a day for every breach of this order, and so on from da day till the works are finished It was also ordered that five m bers of the assembly oversee the afternoon's work daily during appointed hours.

On June 10th, 1643, a more elaborate order was made for more speedy setting forth of the works of defence It was the

rovided that every householder of the chequer ward was to come unself (or provide an able substitute) with sufficient tools, to work the works upon every Thursday; every householder of the outh ward every Friday; every householder in the east ward very Monday, every householder in the north ward every uesday, and every householder in the west ward every Wednesday. The householders of each ward, on their respective days, ere to assemble at the market cross at seven o'clock in the orning, at the tolling of the great bell of All Saints, and to continue at work till eleven o'clock They were to assemble again in e afternoon at the tolling of the bell, and to continue at their bour so long as the overseers of the work should think good.

In the following August the works were still in progress, and e assembly ordered that every mayor and alderman should pay d a week, every bailiff or past bailiff 6d, and every one of the rty-eight 4d towards finding labour.

On October 4th of the same year, another sum of £160 was id on the town for the completion of the defensive works.

In the third volume of *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, an interesting account of the fortifications of Northampton taken om a rare book, written by David Papillon, and printed in 1645. The book which is a small quarto of 124 pages, is entitled—*A Practicall Abstract of the Arts of Fortification and Assailing*, nd is dedicated "to His Excellencie Sir Thomas Fairfax, Generalsime of the Forces of the honourable Houses of Parlement." In e fourth chapter, the writer argues against the custom of burning pulling down men's habitations in suburbs or hamlets adjoining owns, not only for humanity's sake, but because such suburbs roperly fortified are powerful outworks, and of great advantage to e town. He bewails over what had been done in this respect ith regard to Leicester, and then proceeds to mention that it is nderstood "that Cotton End, a small Hamlet, adjoyning to the outh bridge of Northampton, is to be pulled downe, if they be reatened of a Siege, to make the circumference of their works e lesse, and to secure their Bridge. But I will maintain that if ature itselfe and the Art of Man had plotted together to place a ommodious seat to serve as a Bulwark, not only to the South ridge but to the whole Towne, they could not have found out a etter than part of Cotton End is." On plate XXIII., David apillon drew a plan of "Northampton Rightly Fortified," wherein

Cotton end is shown as included within the walls, and strengthened by a quadrangular fort, with four bastions. A large square fort is shown a little east of Derngate, another to correspond on the other side, just south of the west gate. This all works out with geometrical completeness on paper, but it would have involved an entire reconstruction of the walls and existing defences, so that, if otherwise desirable, the time and great expense required for its accomplishment rendered Papillon's plan an impossibility.

On June 26th, 1643, in order to preserve the town and inhabitants from sudden dangers and surprises, it was agreed to immediately provide "skout horses with their furniture and able men to ryde out upon them as skouts from tyme to tyme." For this purpose a cess of £100 was imposed upon the inhabitants.

At an assembly held on August 1st, 1643, the trees standing on Little Holme, close to the West bridge, were ordered to be cut down and sold. This was obviously done to prevent them supplying a shelter for the enemy.

At the same time it was ordered that the fee farm rent and other money be spent in purchasing a store of corn and coals for the town's use "in case of a siege is laide to the towne which is dailie feared."

The Garrison and the Covenant.

On March 21st, 1643-4, the committee of parliament for the town and county of Northampton sat with the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and forty-eight, at the guildhall, when it was agreed that the weekly tax of £18 should be part of it taxed by the pound rent, according to the ordinance of parliament, and the rest upon men's personal estates, the tax to be by wards

The order made a year later, viz., on April 8th, 1645, shows that this heavy weekly tax of £18 a week ordered by parliament, was for the maintenance of the soldiers of the garrison of Northampton

The head quarters of the garrison was at the castle, but a large number of the troops were billeted on the townsmen. The governor of the garrison was Colonel Whitham: he frequently sent aid from the garrison of Northampton to the various attacks upon Banbury, and other places in the district.

On March 18th, 1643-4, the assembly resolved that:—

Wherexs the billeted souldiers which are nowe in paye and of the garrison of the towne for the defence and safetie thereof under the Comaund of Colonel Witham are

all of them this next day to goe of their places of guarde as well to take the covenant appointed by Ordinance of Parliament to be taken, as to be exercised, it is agreed and ordered that the Sergeant in everie ward in this libertie shall fourthwith somon and warne all householders in ther severall wards in this towne to appear with their Armes and furniture compleat in their owne persones this next day in the mourning by seaven of the clock at the markit crosse there to be directed and appointed to guard all ports and places in the said towne, in the Rometh of the said soldiers for one wholl day untill they shalbe relieved by the said soldiers at night And that yf anie housholder being warned or warning left at his howse by anie Sergeant shall Refuse or be negligent therein That then such person soe Refusing or neglecting shalbe bound by Mr Maior to the next sessions of the peace of this towne there to appeare to answear his contempt in this behalfe, or els it shalbe lawfull for Mr Maior to sett forth punishment upon him as to his discretion shall seeme best.

On July 12th, 1644, a demand was made on the town to furnish thirty-six horses with bridles and saddles, to be delivered to Sir William Waller Knight "to be imployed in service the warrs for the King and Parliament." The assembly at once consented, and ordered their officials to levy a cess of £100 on inhabitants of ability, to defray the expense. The defaulters were to be proceeded against by distress, and if any of the town officers in the discharge of their duty should be sued or molested by any one, they should be held harmless at the cost of the chamber.

The Domestic State Papers state that in July, 1645, £20,000 was despatched by the Goldsmith's Hall committee, by order of the committee of the two kingdoms, to Northampton in twenty chests, for the payment of the Scottish army. A receipt for the due arrival of this immense sum was given at Northampton by John Rikman, on July 9th.

At the assembly held on June 27th, 1648, the following order and preamble commenced the proceedings:—

"Imprimis whereas the tymes in this kingdom are now verie dangerous and there are muche risings of the malignant partie to the disturbance of the peace thereof that a new warre is feared Nowe at this assemblie Mr John Spicer maior Mr Peter Whale Mr John Gifford Mr Samuel Martin and Mr Francis Rushworth are nominated Captains to be enabled to raise all volutions (? volunteers) they cane to be in companies for the defence of this Towne."

At the next assembly, held on July 17th, it was voted that the aldermen, bailiffs, and burgesses of the assembly be all enlisted under the five captains who have commissions to raise volunteers

in the town, and are contented and agreed to act under them i
arms for exercising, and for the defence and safety of the tow
and not otherwise

In 1648, diverse Scotch soldiers who had been taken prisoner
were sent to Northampton to be there detained till further order
The assembly, on September 5th, agreed that the mayor shou
pay the prisoners' charges, and that he should be eventual
reimbursed out of the chamber, or out of the next town cess

In January, 1648-9, the assembly imposed a cess of £50 on
householders of ability, to repay the charges to which the in
keepers and alehouse keepers had been exposed by the frequ
billetting of soldiers. In the following April, 50s of this mon
was assigned to Richard Holles, late postmaster, towards his lo
of a house which was suddenly taken and employed for the st
service. The billetting of soldiers on the innkeepers and alehou
keepers continuing, a further cess of £30 towards their relief w
voted by the assembly in December, 1649.

A special case of hardship was relieved by the assembly
November, 1650. A billetted soldier entertained by Widow Tar
a poor victualer, fell sick on her hands, and was nursed by her
the time of his death; 20s. was voted towards her charges

The Demolition of the Walls and Castle.

As soon as the restoration was an accomplished fact, the k
gave orders for the immediate demolition of the walls of Northamp
The duty of seeing to the execution of this work was comm
to the Earls of Exeter and Westmoreland, who had been a
together as joint lord-lieutenants of the county of Northampto
July, 1660.

There was some delay in carrying out the Royal order, and
Domestic State Papers contain the following interesting le
from Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, to the two lo

My Lords,—I have receyved both yor Letters of ye 11th and 12th instant o
Willoughby, & have read them both to his Matie, who comands me to desire y
returne his thankes to ye Lord Cullen, Lord Spencer, Sr Justinian Isham
Thomas Cave, Sr Sam Danvers, Mr Stafford, and Mr Clerkn, yt Deputy Lie
for their forwardnes to assist you in putting his Maties commands in execution
demolishing ye walls of Northampton. His Matie enough considers ye season
yeare, and that ye approaching Harvest will oblige ye Labourers to intend his
concerne and pfit in ye country, and therefore, ye worke requiring haste, he
consent yt you assigne ye stone of ye wall to such persons of ye Towne as will

e ye paines and charge of takeing it downe, so as it be speedely and througly mood: but if those of ye Towne shall refuse or delay ye demolishing ye walls on ese termes, you may then assign ye materialls to such loyall persons of ye neighring country upon ye same conditions as yor Lops shall thinke fitt; and it's hoped it this, together with the 50li. wch lyes ready in my Ld Trear's hands, to be reced such persons as yor Lops shall appoint, will be sufficient encouragemt for carrying s of ye worke. If not, his Maty would not have it delayed, though it should occasion in a greater expence: but therein he is confident yor Lops will be very good husbands e him. As for ye Castle yard, his Maty is content yt so much of it should remaine s is necessary for ye shelter of ye Justices in ye Bench, according as yor Lops desire. And for ye Armes you have seized, ye King desires yyu would cause them to be layd up in some safe place for ye use of ye Country. As to yor Lops' Requestes of repayring to youre homes when a considerable part of ye Towne shall be dismantled, his Maty is pleased to comply therewth, so as from time to time ye returne to hasten ye busines until it be perfected. & yt in ye meane time you leave some of yor Deputy Lieutenants to overloone it & secure his Mat's peace, least there should be any disturbance.

The King thinkes not fitt to consent to yor request in behalf of Mr. Willoughby, as believing him not of a fortune answerable to ye employmt, but otherwise he hath a gracious esteeme of him for the zeale he expresses to his Maty's service, which he desires you to cherish in him. I have more in comand, but to returne his Mat's hearty thankes to yor Lops for yor diligence and activity in pformance of his comands, & to desire yor continuance, & so I humbly take leave, and remaine,

Hampton Court,
dated
13 July, 1662.

My Lords,
Your Lop's
Most, faithfull, humble servt,
E. N.

To ye Ea: of Exeter & the
Ea of Westmoreland, Lord
Liets of ye County of
Northampton.

It will be noticed from the above letter that the castle was also demolished, save so much as would serve for assize courts.

At the assembly held on October 9th. 1665. the following interesting order was passed. The town was evidently anxious to flant out the eyesore of their wall-less condition:—

In May. 1663. the sum of £160 was granted by letters of privy al to the Earl of Exeter "to defray the charges of demolishing e walls of His Majesty's towne of Northampton."

"Ordered that Mr Hatton Farmer hath a lease of the new istures and croft about the late towne walls thereunto belongingge r the terme of forty yeares at the rent of five pounds per annum - sufficiently moundinge and planting the same with trees."

The foundations and remnants of the walls soon came to be oked upon as quarries for building stone. but in 1685 this action

was stopped by the assembly, who orde
other persons that had "dugg stone att th
walls stood bee forthwith called to Ac
that they pay in the money received for
Chamber, or els that they be sued for th
Chamber stock."

The west gate was taken down in
for the new buildings at the conduit h
three other principal gates were standi
It is abundantly evident from the records
town walls at the restoration did not i
covered gateways into the town.

Soldiers and Traine

Under this heading are gathered toge
from the corporation records with regard t
town for national purposes, and to traine
liberties and for the defence of the bor
however, to soldiers and trained bands o
wealth struggle have already been giv
this section.

It has often been a temptation in wri
beyond the limit marked out by the ext
It is at all events lawful just to state h
able material at the public record office
the town with regard to the supply of natio
from the thirteenth century. One inst
May 21st, 1322, the mayor received the
forty armed men to meet the king, on
Newcastle-on-Tyne, to proceed against
also to provide funds for their support f
only the strongest men. It is some gu
ance of towns at that period (though no
note that only one town was ordered to
namely Winchester, which had to furni
had to supply forty, Exeter twenty-six,
bury and Cambridge twenty, Leicester t

The first reference in the orders of as
soldiers at the expense of the town, under
is on Dec 10, 1585, when the assembly a

That there sha'be a scessment made to the valewe of Syxteyne pounds for the setinge forthe of the Souldiers, and theise on the Scesson appoynted Mr. John Herseman Mr Craswell Mr Rutland Mr. Freare Mr. Coles Mr Bychano Mr. Wattes junior, Vyncent Gregorie John Glover Thomas Homfrey Lawrrance Bill to be Collectors for the same.

A system evidently prevailed in Northampton of excusing payment of the soldier cess provided the one assessed was ready personally to serve. In 1590 the assembly resolved :—

That William Atkyns glover, shall have parde him by the towne Fower Shillinges whiche hee payde and layede out for the provision of the Soldiers in consideration hee served himselfe as a Soldyer.

A small levy of £3 for the furnishing of soldiers to serve in Ireland was made in the town in the autumn of 1595, and the assembly wisely decided to defer the raising of this money until some other taxation or assessment should be made. In cases like this the money would be advanced out of the town chest.

At the meeting of the assembly in September, 1596, it was stated that the sum of £5 had been disbursed during the year out of the chamber stock "for the furnishing and setting forthe of souldiers into Ireland," and that about £15 more was demanded of them for a like purpose. It was, therefore, resolved to form an assessment committee of twelve members to raise £20, the moneys to be gathered by the constables of the different wards.

In September, 1597 the assembly ordered £19 to be raised by assessment, to refund £6 for furnishing soldiers which had been advanced in April, and a further sum of £13 recently disbursed "for the furnishing and arayeinge of Souldiers to wit Fyve with armor and weapon and trayneing of them intended to be imployed in the service with the Right Honorable the Earle of Essex."

These repeated levies for soldiers in an unpopular war evidently met with much tacit resistance at Northampton. Many of the inhabitants refused, and continued to refuse to pay their share. In May, 1598, the mayor's serjeant was instructed to make a further demand on those in arrears, and the defaulters were warned that they rendered themselves liable to be kept in ward by the mayor's serjeant until payment was made. The ward constables were at the same time ordered to make immediate account of all they had received for the war tax under pain of imprisonment.

In September, 1598 it was notified to the assembly that £5 5s. had been advanced during the year as the town's share towards the

cost of furnishing a hundred soldiers for the war in Ireland from t town and county of Northampton, and that demand was then be made for £6 15s., as the town's share in the furnishing of yet an hundred soldiers from the same town and county. The assembl departing from the precedent of the last two years, now determin to make an assessment of £12 on "the inhabitants of habilitie To carry out this delicate assessing, the following were appointed "In the Checker warde, Roger Pendleton, constable, Lawrence B the elder; in the East ward, Thomas Harrison, constable Lucas Bradford; in the South ward, John Meynard, constable Hen Symondes, Henry Chadwick; in the West warde, Richard Brau constable, Thomas Potter, Richard Potter; in the North war Thomas Atkins, constable, Hugh Coles, Robert Randes the elder

The costly war against Ireland resulted in £7 10s. being levi on Northampton in the following December, which was advanc out of the chamber stock. It will be noted how the expenses furnishing the hundred soldiers from the county and town grad increased. On February 16th, 1598-9, "fiftie shillings at the least was required in addition "for the apparelinge of suche souldiers shalbe pressed out of the towne" for service in Ireland, and t assembly had again to raise £10 from the inhabitants of abilit pay. The commissioners of musters were at that time at Nort ampton Castle to set the press gangs at work in town and coun On February 27th of the same year the Northampton assem levied another £8 on the town for a like purpose in a f manner.

In June, 1599 the demands of the Privy Council increased, t town and county of Northampton being then required to furni one hundred and fifty soldiers. The press gang was set to wo again in Northampton, and £13 6s. 8d was levied by assessm on all the inhabitants "being of habilitie to contribute thereunt

The sum of £15 had to be raised in Northampton for soldiers in Ireland in February, 1599-1600. At the same tim further demand on behalf of cavalry was made on the town, this claim at once met with resistance. The following is the text of the assembly's order:—

"Item it is agreed and ordeyned that whereas diverse free and inhabitants of this towne are assessed by the commission for musters in the countie of Northampton towardes the payment a certain sume of money for the furnishing and setting fourtne

certaine number of Horses and Horsemen to be furnished and sett fourthe out of the countie aforesaide for her ma^ties service for Ireland according the queenes ma^ties commission and the direction of the right honorable the lordes and other of the queenes ma^ties most honorable privie councell by their letters to the saide commissioners directed. Forasmuch as the saide Freemen inhabitantes are not (as is conceaved) chargeable or to be charged with the countie for that service by virtue of the said letters; That therefore a letter shalbe drawne and sent to her saide ma^ties privie councell to know their honoures pleasures in that behalfe, and the charges of the messenger that shalbe sent with the same letter and for that purpose shalbe borne out and defrayed at the comon charges of the corporation."

So far as we can make out from the local records and the documents at the Public Record Office, Northampton was successful in resisting this endeavour to make it contributory to a cavalry force.

On July 11th, 1600, the assembly found themselves compelled to order another assessment of those of ability for £13, as the town's share of a further contingent of soldiers for Ireland.

During July, 1601, £16 was raised in like manner for a similar purpose.

On October 7th, 1601, the orders of assembly seem to give evidence that the Irish war was coming to an end. The commissioners for musters' last demand from the town and county of Northampton was only for fifty soldiers. The town, as their share, voted an assessment of £6; but a fresh precept for another supply of soldiery was received within a day or two after the last-named assembly. This necessitated the summoning of another assembly on October 12th, when it was agreed to amend the last order and make an assessment of £12 to cover both demands.

The assembly of June 30th, 1613, ordered £11 10s. to be levied by an assessment committee on the townsmen of ability (to be collected by the constable of each ward) for the fitting of armour and other necessary equipment for those of the townsmen who were to be mustered and trained for his majesty's service. This was about the time when the country was much disturbed in the affairs of Sir Thomas Overbury. In the following year £12 was raised for a like purpose.

A military spirit seems at this period to have laid hold of the townsfolk of Northampton. In 1617 the assembly resolved that

"Whereas the inhabitants of this towne a
fifth day of August next to assemble them
and to exercise and perform some martiall
ordered that they shall have the sume o
and delivered them out of the Chamber a
defraying of their charge therein" It
there was considerable danger of Eng
European war through the attacks of S
Spanish settlements in South America.

In March 1626, the mayor of Northan
the Privy Council for the levying of a sum
"to be imploied towards the furnishing
and conducting of One Hundred souldiers
this Countie to the Port of London the
Maties service" At an assembly held
ment of £10 was voted for this purpose.
less required for the ill-judged war with S

On May 25th 1627, the assembly "
fourthwith Twentie Pounds lent out of th
towards the defraying of the charge of Bi
said towne."

At another assembly, held on June
a further charge of billetting. Newly levi
on the move throughout England at this
unfortunate expedition of the Duke of B
the French Protestants at Rochelle.

In 1630 divers victuallers of the town
been lately compelled to billet many sol
expense They stated that they were
the charge, and the assembly voted £10 to

A muster roll of 26 armed men, or a
band, is given in the 2nd vol. of the ord
year 1667.

A list of the Trained Soldiers appointed b
followeth —

Robert Hearne S
Richard Dust
Thomas Fitzhugh
Swords Joseph Debson
" Henry Roper Price
William Oakely

Swords	John Clifford jun.	Swords	Tho. Lacy. Pike
,,	John Bidles jun	,,	Jo^n Cox jun.
,,	John Sanders	,,	Matthias Dawes jun
,,	Robert Harbert	,,	Nathaniel Potter Pike
,,	Richard Drury	,,	Thomas Chadwicke
,,	Matthew Barnes	,,	Samuel Hayes
,,	William Agutter	,,	Jonathan Ebrall

In the chamberlain's accounts for 1680 we find that £1 12s. 8d. was paid "for Buttons for redd Coates and ribon for Colours for soldiers."

The court of aldermen, meeting at the George inn on April 19th 1794, unanimously resolved "That Major Kerr, son of Dr. Wm Kerr, a worthy and respectable inhabitant of this Town, have the sanction and good wishes of this Meeting for raising the Complement of Men directed by Government, for his future promotion of which they heartily wish him all the success possible."

It was in 1794 that the first volunteer and yeomanry corps were being formed in England, through the fears of invasion from abroad and disturbances at home.

Arms and Armour.

The old statutes of armour, 27 Henry II., 13 Edward I., and 4 Edward III., by which all subjects, according to their means, were bound to furnish a certain quantity of arms and armour, subject to annual inspection, were all superseded by the more elaborate act of 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, c. 2, entitled "An Acte for the haveinge of Horse, Armour and Weapon." It was under this last act that the local forces of England were raised and armed during the last half of the sixteenth century. James I. somewhat altered the system in 1604.

The fifth section of the Philip and Mary act provides that "the inhabitants of every city, burgh, town, parish and hamlet, shall find and maintain at their common charges such harness and weapons as shall be appointed by the Commissioners of the Musters on View of Armour within such city, etc., and the number and kinds thereof to be written on a pair of indentures to be made between the said Commissioners and twelve, eight, or four of the chief of every such city."

The assembly, on November 8th, 1586, ordered :—

"That there shalbe a Scessment of xxx^li scessed for the buyinge of certeyne armour and other furnyture for the service of the Queenes Matie according to the

Commyssioners warrant which scessment ys by the waye of loane and ys to be scessed within Tenne dayes next ensewinge the date hereof, by the persons followinge, viz., Henrie Wandleye, William Raynsford, Laurauince Bak, Jon Glover, John Lowicke, Vyncent Gregorye, William Harpoll, Thomas Fox, Richard Watts thelder, John Watts, Hugh Coles, and Robert Dawson, and there are alsoe chosen collectors for the same Scessment, John Dunbrooke and William Burrows who are to collect the same within tenne daves neate after the bookes of Collection shalbe delivered to them, And to certifye the names of them that Refused to paye the Scessment scessed upon them to Mr. Mayor"

It was further ageed at the same time that any one refusing payment of this armour tax should be at once committed to gaol, there to remain till the cess was paid; and that every one paying the cess shall be repaid "at such tyme and tymes as the chamber of the Towne shall have any moneye"

On March 6th, 1601, the following order was made by the assembly :—

It ys agreed and ordayned That everie person an inhabitant and householder within this towne shall before the foure and twentieth daye of June nest comyng provide and keepe a club standing in some parte of his habitation therewith to be readie for the preservation of the Quenes Maties peace, when need shall require upon paine of everie person not providing to forfeit and paye twelvepence"

From an order made on October 11th, 1605, is it fair to conclude that the "keeping the peace" by means of the householder's club was no offence, providing there was no shedding of blood! This order punished any one drawing knife, sword, or dagger against his fellow by a fine of 3s. 4d., and if blood was shed the penalty was doubled

In 1606 twenty halberds were bought at the town's charge "to be employed and used in the behalfe and in the affaires of the saide towne from tyme to tyme as occasion shall require"

At the assembly held on February 4th, 1612, "It is decreed ordered and enacted for the better strengtheninge of this Corporation againste adversarie powers that the Mayor for the time being and the aldermen his brethren late mayors of the said Towne and the Baylifs and all those that have been Baylifs of the same towne and the Fourtie and eight Burgesses and such Commoners of habilitie as Mr. Mayor and the Justice shall thinke fitt shall provide at their owne charge on this side and before the feast daye of Easter next ensueing such Armour and furniture to stand and be readie in their houses as followeth that is to saye the mayor and aldermen and his brethren everie one of them severally a several

On June 26th, 1643, there is an interesting and remarkable entry in the orders of assembly. It is rather curious to find that Sir Christopher Yelverton, who had only been made a baronet by the king in 1631, should be now taking so decided a stand on the parliamentary side. The interest, however, of his family with the town of Northampton was very intimate, for both his father and grandfather had been recorders for over half a century. Monuments to the memories of these three Yelvertons still remain in the church of Easton Mauduit.

Whereas it hath pleased the Right Wo^ll Sr Christofer Yelverton tonight at the request of the Corporation to send for present use for defence of this towne in this dangerous tyme of war and delver by the hands of Mr. Watts diverse parcells of Arms and Amunition, the particulars whereof are hereunder written, Nowe it is agreed and resolved and by this whole Assemblie promised That the same Arms and Amunition shalbe restored againe upon demaund, Or in case anie of the same shalbe spent or loste that the value and quantitie of the same Arms and Amunition be spent or lost shalbe rendered or restored to the said Sr Christofer his executors or administrators by the Corporation.

Twoe drakes with cariages
Twoe aprons for the same
Foure Cheynes
Foure Bridge barrells
Twoe Horns
Twoe Lynstocks
Twoe Tomkins
Twoe Banners
Twoe Sponges
One Worme
Twoe Ladles
One hundred and tenne shott
Twentie eight Bandileers
Two Bundles and a half of matche
Thirtie nyne Cast shott
Fyve bagges of small bullets
Twentie eight muskets
Eightene Pikes
Thirtie Rests
Seaven swords
One barrell of powder
One bundell of charges

These came first.

Six granadoes
Thirtie twoe Cast shott of Tynne
Three bagges of bullets
One Ensigne

At an assembly held on January 7th, 1660-1, it was ordered "that all the Towne Arms of this Corporation be with all speed fixed and made fitt for service at as easy a charge as may be, and the present chamberlaines out of the Towne moneys in their hands are to take to see this worke done accordingly."

The Earls of Exeter and Westmorland, as joint lord-lieutenants of the county, were not only ordered to see to the demolition of the town walls, but also to secure all the arms in the official possession of the burgesses. On their removal the town clerk drew up the following interesting list of the weapons, etc., of which they were deprived.—

An inventory or accompt of the Town Arms taken out of the Towne Hall there, by order of the Lords L^ts of the County of Northampton the 17th day of July, as followeth :—

Musketts fixed...	Six score and two, whereof 20 for the Traine
Blunderbusses	Two, wherof one left with Capt. Ekins. (These were brass)
Musketts unfixed	Twenty seaven
Match	One hundred and a halfe weight
Old Swords	Thirty
Old headpeeces	Twenty three
Old skirts for pikemen	Fower, and one breast
Hand Granadoes	Seaven
Carthrage cases	Fifty six
Earthen Granadoe shells	Fifty nine
Iron Granadoe shells...	Two
Wooden Cases for small shott for Cannon	Two
Peeces, being Implements for fireworkes ...	Three

M^d There was six new traine pikes all marked with the Towne marke left in the Towne Hall, for the Townes use for tymes of traineing.

Allsoe there was left of old Armer five suites, besides three breasts.

Watch and Ward.

One of the most burdensome duties imposed upon town burgesses was that of keeping watch and ward. Never, even in times of peace could this duty be relaxed, for the times were such, that every householder was expected to have his weapon, even if it were nothing more than a club or bludgeon, as we have seen was provided in the Elizabethan days of Northampton. Each ward in the town had its definitely appointed constable and thirdboroughs. Moreover, the sergeants had their special duties in the times of night disturbance. But yet it was recognised that "for the safety of the community," each householder was bound to take his turn in keeping nightly watch and ward in the streets, unless formally excused by the assembly.

An excuse of this kind in consequence of old age, occurs at the very opening of the first book of the orders :—

M^d that the first day of August in the third and fourth yeres of reignes of Kynge Phillipe and Quene Marye, Thomas Ferebrother being above the age of lxx yeres was pardoned and licensed from all manner of ,watchis and sutes of courte by Anthony Brian mayor.

The following elaborate regulations with regard to this duty were passed by the assembly on May 11th, 1599 :—

Yt is agreed ordained and enacted that everie householder within this towne or the liberties or precinctes thereof that at anie tyme hereafter shall have somance or warning given unto him, or else at his dweling house with one of his household of sufficient discretion, to watche within the saide towne or precinctes thereof, by the serjeant to the mace of the bailliffes of the saide towne everie serjeant for the tyme being in his warde or warder, or in the absence or want of anie serjeant in his warde anie other serjeant shall come himselfe sufficientlie furnished to watch, or send a sufficient and able person sufficientlie furnished to watche, to the dweling house of the constable of such warde, where he shall have had somance or warning given as aforesaide to watche, and at such tyme as he shall have had somance or warning given as aforesaide to watche, to receive his charge, and everie such person shall there continue in civill and quiet manner at the constable his house, untill he have receaved his charge of the constable or his deputie in the absence of the constable upon paine of anie householder not coming himselfe or sending a sufficient and able person sufficientlie furnished to watche to forfeite for everie suche default twelvepence, And that everie person that shall hereafter receave charge of the constable or his deputie of watching and shall not watch shall forfeit for everie suche offence sixepence, All which forfeitures aforesaide in this order mentioned shall goe and be imployed for the use of the mayor bailliffes and burgesses And yt is further enacted that yt shalbe lawfull for the mayor to committ everie person that shall offend or doe contrarie to this ordinance and refuse to paye the penalte or forfeiture aforesaide by him forfeyted to prison, there to remaine untill the saide forfeiture shalbe paid, Provided allwayes, and yt be further ordained that if anie person aforesaide, to whom somance or warning shalbe given or left as aforesaide, shall make default to come or send a sufficient and able person to receave the charge as aforesaide That then the constable of that warde or his deputie in his absence shall hire and provide a sufficient able person to watche in the stead and rometh of every person for making defaulte, and paye to such person soe hired and procured to watch for his watchinge what the said constable or his deputie shall hyre him for and that to be allowed to the constable againe out of the penalties and forfeitures aforesaide.

Amongst a variety of repressive orders of 1605, occurs one prohibiting any townsman from walking in the streets after nine o'clock in the evening, unless he is carrying a light; forbidding any handicraftsman, servant, or labourer, playing by day or night at "dyce cardes tables bowles or any other unlawful games, and that no innkeeper or alehousekeeper allow suche games, or have in his house dice, cards, tables, etc., or keep open at prohibited times.

This order is mentioned here, as those serving on watch and ward had to be responsible for the due observance of such bye-laws as these, as well as the arresting of strangers, or the keeping of the king's peace in any fray that might arise.

At the assembly of May 8th, 1640, it was ordered that during those dangerous times a bailiff and one of the forty-eight should

patrol every night "to viewe and oversee the watch as well for countenance as directions upon anie occasion upon paine of forfeiture of xij^{d} a peece for everie default."

On January 1st, 1641-2, it was provided, for the further safety of the corporation, that a watch of twenty men should be set every night, that is four out of each ward; and that every householder whatsoever shall be charged to watch in his own person or else to find a sufficient substitute upon summons of the ward sergeant; and that there shall also be one bailiff and two of the forty-eight to oversee the watch every night, and that the watch begin at eight o'clock at night. At an assembly held nine days later, that part of the last order relative to the bailiffs and the two forty-eight men was repeated and emphasised, they being ordered to meet in the market place at eight p.m., and to walk throughout the town all night to and fro, under penalty of 12^{d} each, and any one making breach of this order, and refusing to pay the forfeit to be at once imprisoned.

In November, 1642, the nightly overseers of the watch were increased from three to eight, the eight being chosen by rotation from the bailiffs and former bailiffs, and the forty-eight. Two of the eight overseers were to watch and guard at the castle, and the other six to ride the round of the town by turns all night.

The following special order was made on 8th November, 1645:—

Whereas this Corporation is in great danger in this tyme of Civill Warrs by reason of the remissnes and slacknes of souldiers at the guardes and by reason of treacherie which is much feared, And whereas there are Eleaven places of guarde in this towns, It is agreed and ordered that everie householder and man of qualitie in his libertie, as shalbe thought fitt by a selecte comittee chosen to this purpose, shall watch in their owne persons twoe at a guarde everie night, such guards at their lotts shall fall to from tyme to tyme, and that lotts shalbe made and Drawne to this purpose, so at which guard everie twoe shall watch upon paine of everie severall person neglecting to come to the hall over the conduit at anie one night, by nine of the clock to this purpose having had warning by a sergeant to the mace of the Bailiffs of this towne to forfeite and pay ij^{s} vj^{d} for everie severall omission, the one half of which forfeyture from tyme to tyme shalbe to the use of the Sargeant that warneth him and omitteth coming and the other half to the use of him that he should have guarded withall if he had come, And it is further ordered that if anie person shall refuse to pay his forfeyture upon Demaund thereof That then it shalbe lawfull for Mr. Maior of this towne for the tyme being to appoint anie officer or person by warrant under his hand and seale to levie the same by distres of everie Refusants goods and cattells, And it is also ordered that

such persons as the said selecte Comittee thinking not fitt to guard as aforesaid shall appoint and send a workman or laborer to work at the walls, and shall send a workman or laborer accordingly upon notice given him overnight, upon paine likewise of forfeyture of twoe shillings and sixepence for everie omission, the same forfeyture to be levied by distress in like manner

The assembly resolved, in June, 1648, that there was special need of an extraordinary watch in the town and liberties, and it was agreed that the sergeants should summons six out of each ward night by night, making thirty in all, that is, ten more than the ordinary watch. All summoned were to watch in their own persons in their own ward from sunset to sunrise, or to provide "verie able men in the rometh of them," and in default to pay 2s. 6d.

At the end of two of the MS. lists of mayors of Northampton, are entries of the names of some of those on duty as night watchmen, from May 20th, to the beginning of August, 1656 in two of the five wards of the town. The one from which the list is copied was evidently written at the time of the alarm, when this special watch of four from each ward was ordered. The following is a verbatim copy; the original entries are in double columns for the chequer ward, and in single column for the east ward. The second set of week-day names in the latter ward evidently refer to the reappointment of the same four watchmen at a later date.

The Watches began the 20th of May 1656 by the appointment of Mr John Spicer then Maior.

Checkuer Ward.

Tuesday night being the 20th day of May
- Mr John Ball
- Mr Daniel Symons
- Jeremiah Freind
- Richard Clifford

Wednesday night the 21th day of May
- Thomas Stevens
- Edmund Archer
- John Cockraine
- William Davison

Thursday night the 22th May
- Mr John Parr
- Thomas Evans
- William Grimes
- Robert Barcole

Fryday night the 23th May
- Thomas Atkines
- Edward Cocker the younger
- John Labram
- Mr Richard Rands

Satterday night the 24th May
- Mr John Smith
- Edward Medbery
- Samuel Gibbs
- Richard Hooke

Sunday night the 25th May
- Mr John Freind
- Mr Vaughan
- John Ashby
- Tho Aleyley

Sunday night the 26th May
- Mr John Stevens
- John Sale
- William Browne
- George Marshall

Tuesday 27th May
- Mr Roger Williams
- John Austin
- Edward Atkines
- Mr Henry Lee

Wednesday 28th May
- Mr Skarborow
- John Elborow
- Edward Gent
- Obadiah Lord

Thursday 29th May
- Tho: Silsby
- William Rogers
- Sam: Smith
- Robert Ivory

Fryday 30th May
- Jo: Scriven
- Ed: Parker
- Mr Jo: Selby
- Mr Peach

Satterday 31th May
- Ed: Cricke
- Tho: Houghton
- Raphael Coldwell
- Jos Keyes

Sunday night 1th June
- Goodman Pattison
- Jo: Stannard
- Mr Kymbole
- Mr Massey

Monday night 2d June
- Paul Matlocke
- Wm Lowick
- John Hensman
- Tho: Storer

Tuesday night the 3d June
- Jo: Neale
- Mr Ed: Cooper
- Mr Tho: Cooper
- Tho: Rands

Wednesday 4th June
- James Walker
- Mr Joseph Hensman
- Tho: Bradford
- Mathew Andrewes

Thursday 5th June
- Peter Dunckley
- Tho: Dunckley
- Wm: Flaxney
- Goodman Price

Fryday night 6th June
- John Brookes
- Wm: Lane
- Tho: Pidgeon
- John Digby thelder

Satterday night 7th June
- Ed: Oldham
- Mr Jo: Atterbury
- Ed: Cocker thelder
- Rich: Massenberg

Sunday night 8th June
- Mr Sam: Poole
- Mr Whiston
- Robt: Coles
- Jo: Clarke

Monday night 9th June
- William Spencer
- Henry Dover
- Tho: Atterbery
- Jo: Cox

Tuesday night 10th June
- Daniel Harbert
- Jeremy Harbert
- John Mercer
- Rich; Dust

Wednesday night 11th June
- Samuel Harbert
- Fraunces Roy
- Jeremy Stevens
- William Thorpe

Thursday night 12th June
- Sam: Cricke
- Sam: Wickens
- Sam: Stevens
- Clifford Cockerill

Friday night 13th June
Mr Henry Stratford
Tho: Chapman
Tho: Brookes
Ed: Tebbutt

Satterday night 14th June
John Caudell
George Davison
John Steevens
James Rogers

Sunday night 15th June
Edward Roeve
Ben: Tiplady
Mathew Singleton
Rich. Browne

Monday night 16th June
Robert Coles
Thomas Taylor
Stephen Harman
Sam: Harman

Tuesday night the 17th of June
Rich: Deinton
Goodman Sloth
Mr John Ball
Mr Daniel Symons

Wednesday night 18th of June
[illegible] Freind
Rich: Clifford
Mr Edmund Archer
Charles Turland [illegible] nor
[illegible] b not yys nice for u
[illegible] what a foole u b*

Thursday night the 19th of June
Thomas Stevens
John Cockaine
W[illegible]m Davison
Mr [illegible] Parr

Fryday night the 20th of June
Tho Evans
Robert Barcoe
Tho Atkines
Edw Cocker the younger

Satterday night the 21st of June
Jo: Labram
Mr Richard Rands
Mr Edward Medbery
Samuel Gibbs

Sunday night the 22nd June 1656
Rich: Hooke
Mr John Smith
Mr John Freind
John Ashby

Monday night the 23rd June 1656
Mr Vaughan
Tho: Alleyleye
John Idle
Mr John Stevens

Tuesday night the 24th June 1656
Wm Browne
George Marshall
Jo: Austin
Ed. Atkynes

Wednesday night the 25th June
Mr Roger Williams
Mr Wm: Skarborrow
Mr Henry Lee
John Elborrow

Thursday night 26th of June 1656
Edward Gent
Obadiah Lord
Tho Salsby
William Rogers

Fryday night the 27th June
Sam Smith
Robert Ivory
John Scriven
Edward Parker

Satterday night the 28th June 1656
Mr John Selby
Mr Tho: Peach
Edward Cricke
Tho Houghton

* The mayor's clerk here broke out into a jest! Possibly some crabbed alderman was moment[illegible] looking over his shoulder. The rendering of this written joke is—"Be not wise [illegible] nice, for you [illegible] see what a fool you be!"

Sunday night the 29th June 1656
John Royes
Goodman Pattisson
John Stannard
Jo: Preston

Monday the 30th June 1656
Mr Kymbold
Mr Massey
Paul Matlocke
Wm: Lowicke

Tuesday night the first of July 1656
John Hensman
Thomas Storer
Jo: Neale
Mr Edward Cooper

Wednesday night the second of July
Mr Tho: Cooper
Tho: Rands
James Walker
Mr Joseph Hensman

Thursday night the 3d of July, 1656
Thomas Bradford
Goodman Sloth
Mathew Andrewes
Peter Dunckley

Fryday night the 4th July 1656
Tho: Dunckley
Wm: Flaxney
Goodman Price
John Brookes

Satterday night the 5th July 1656
Wm: Lane
Tho: Pidgeon
John Digby thelder
Ed: Oldham

Sunday night the 6th July 1656
Mr John Atterbery
Ed: Cocker thelder
Mr Richard Masingberd
Mr Sam: Poole

Monday night 7th July 1656
Mr Whiston
Robert Coles
John Clark
Wm: Spencer

Tuesday night 8th July 1656
Hen: Dover
Tho: Atterbery
Jo: Cox
Daniel Harbert

Wednesday night the 9th July
Jeremy Harbert
Jo: Mercer
Richard Dust
Wm: Thorpe

Thursday night the 10th July 1656
Fra: Royes
Jeremy Stevens
Sam: Harbert
Sam: Wickens

Fryday night the 11th July 1656
Sam: Stevens
Clifford Cockerill
Mr Stratford
Tho: Chapman

Satterday night 12th July
Tho: Brookes
Edward Tebbutt
John Caudell
George Davison

Sunday night 13th July
Jo: Stevens
James Rogers
Edward Reeve
Ben: Tiplady

Monday night 14th July
Mathew Singleton
Richard Browne
Robt: Coles
Thomas Taylor

Tuesday night the 15th July 1656
Steeven Harman
Sam Harman
Goodman Deinton
Mr John Ball

Wednesday night the 16th July 1656
Mr Daniel Symones
Jeremiah Freind
Richard Clifford
Charles Turland

East Ward 20th day of May 1656 Tuesday night
Edward Webb
John Knight 31th July
John Hancock
John Smith

Wednesday night the 21th day of May
Thomas Wright
Robert Whetston 1st August
Mathew West
William Middleton

Thursday night the 22th May
Thomas Radford Second August
Richard Cley
Robert Brownsgrave
William Wright

Friday night the 23th May
Anthony Cory
John Preston
Edward Nicholas 3d August
George Preistley

Satterday night the 24th May
Goodman Judkyn Sheapheard
Goodman Eales
Mr Jo: Scriven 4th August
John Bayley

Sunday night 25th May
Tho: Laundon
Joseph Jackson
John Sparks 5th August
Walter Robinson

Munday night 26th May 1656
Mr Jo: Cary
William Stonner
George Clarke
Arthur Burbedg

27th May Tuesday night
Stephen Ashby
Tho: Jeyes
Anthony Cox
Goodman Plowman

28th May Wednesday night
Richard Keeper
Mathew Dawes 7th August
Jo: Howes
Mr Bennett

29th May Thursday night
Prothero Kibworth
Jonas Woodard
Goodman Hutchines
William Peters

Fryday 30th May
James Balding
Wm: Reynolds
Wm: Woodard
Goodman Haddon

Satterday 31th May
Wm: Coleman
Henry Allen
George Bott
John Evans

Sunday night 1th June
Tho: Burrowes — Ed: Bennett
Goodman Holenby
Tho: Evans
John Stormer

Monday night 2d June
Jo: Hewlett — Fryday night
Wm: Barnes
Robert Cory senr
John Smith

Tuesday night the 3d June
Tho: Haddon — Satterday night
Tho: Aleston
Richard Roberts
Daniel Child

Wednesday night 4th June
John Porter
Richard Knott — Sunday night
John Hill
George Large

Thursday night the 5th June
George Daves — Monday night
Tho: Collins
William Richardson
Henry Sheaphard

Fryday night the 6th June
Henry Cockin — Tuesday night
John Osborne
Richard Lee — John Howes
Richard Longstrap

Satterday night the 7th June
John Lambert — Wednesday night
Augustine Mulliner
Tho: Judkin
Wm: Tracler

Sunday the 8th June
Tho: Lanton — Thursday night
Joseph Emerton
Symon Rands
Sam: Dawes

Monday night 9th June
Mr Billing — Friday night
Tho: Newman — Sunday night to begin
Abram Baxter
Jo: Purser

Tuesday night the 10th June
Henry Ashby — Saterday night
Goodman Rock
Edward Cox
Robt: Man — Jo: Hill

Wednesday night 11th June
Goodman Walker
Sam: Witsee — Sunday night
Tho: Smith
Amos Child

Thursday night 12th June
Edward Aleyly
Robt: Durham — Monday night
Goodman Howes
Jo: Smith

Fryday night 13th June
Walter Longe
Edward Webb
John Knight
John Hancocke

Satterday night the 14th June
Jo: Smith
Tho: Wright
Robt: Whetston
Wm: Middleton

Sunday night the 15th June
Mathew West
Tho: Radford
Richard Cley
Robert Brownsgrave

important battle of Northampton 1459 Henry VII passed through the town on several occasions.

On July 21st, 1540, Henry VIII visited Northampton on his way to York, sleeping at the house of Mr Humphrey, without the south gate.

Queen Elizabeth's first visit to Northampton was in the summer of 1564, when great preparations were made for her reception. The town was re-painted, the houses decorated with hangings of coloured stuffs, and the main streets strewed with sand. The corporation presented her with an embroidered purse containing a hundred marks, and allowed the mayor £20 towards his extra expenditure. The following entries relative to this event are copied from the orders of assembly :—

At the Assembly held on August 4th, 1564, it was ordered that there should be levied among the Comens and inhabitauntes of the towne of Northampton to be presented unto the Quenes Ma^ty^ one hundred marses sterlinge

At the same time, it was further ordered—

That Mr. Richard Whatley then beinge maior shold have allowed for towards his Charge at the Quenes Maties beinge in Northampton xx^s^

Item that every maior for the time being when any Kinge or Quene shall foetune to come to Northampton shall hereafter have towardes his Charges some of xx^li^ to be payde owte of the treasure of the Chamber of Northampton and besides his standinge stepent

In the summer of 1575 the queen again passed through Northampton, and must have been received with some state for the mayor presented her with a memorial in reference to the defiance of the assembly's orders relative to malt kilns within the walls.* This was the occasion when Elizabeth made a formal progress through the counties of Northampton, Warwick, Stafford, and Worcester, and thence to Woodstock.

In the spring of 1585 the queen planned a progress to York intending to pass through the boroughs of Northampton, Leicester and Nottingham. Communications of much detail were entered into with the respective mayors of these towns, the purveyor to royalty specially insisting on the quality of the ale to be provided. This progress was, however, subsequently abandoned, but a part of it was accomplished the queen visiting Holdenby house, the grand new residence of her favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton. This visit was apparently paid in either August or September, but the unfortunately fragmentary entry in the order book is

* See page 341

1585, merely states that "John Henseman beinge maior of the Towne of Northton have towardes his Charges at the Quene Ma^tie^s progresses through the towne to Holmebie the lowance some of xx^s owte . . . ."

In June, 1603, James I. was followed from Scotland to London by Queen Anne and the young Prince Henry. They tarried a night on the way at the great house of Holdenby, and it was owing to the queen's appreciation of its magnificent proportions and beautiful site that the king was induced a few years afterwards to purchase the estate and turn Holdenby House into a royal palace. On leaving Holdenby the queen and prince passed through Northampton on their way to London, and were received in state by the corporation. In February, 1608, the king completed his purchase of Holdenby, and paid his first visit there of about a fortnight in the following August.

On Wednesday, August 15th, James and his queen made their first state entry into Northampton. The following highly interesting extracts from the orders of assembly relative to the event are now for the first time published:—

Orders agreed upon and concloded at an assemblie of Edward Henseman mayor of the towne of Northampton the Aldermen his brethren late mayors of the same towne the Bayhfs all those that have bene Bayhfs and the fourtie eight Burgesses of the Common Councell of the same towne assembled in the Guildhall of the same towne the Sixth daye of August in the yeares of the Raigne of our soveraigne James by the grace of God King of Eng'and &c the Sixth and of Scotlnd the Twoe and fortieth, for and about the meeting and entertainment of the nowe king's most excellent Matie and his gratious Quene Anne into the libertie of this towne, whoe intend their progresse in state Royall upon the Fifteenth daye of this instant month of August, through this his highnes Corporation of Northampton, as followeth, 1608.

Imprimis it ys ordered that there shalbe fourthwith provided at the costs and charges of the Corporation out of the towne chamber, twoe faire pieces of plate guilded, to present to wit one to the Kings Matie and the other to the Quene, which saide pieces of plate shall both of them together with cases for them amount in value neare the sume of fiftie poundes.

Item wheare his Matie intendeth to come into this Corporation in progresse upon the Fifteenth of this instant upon which daye being a faire daye commonlie called the first Lodlo daye in Harvest, his Matie intendeth to come into the Corporation from the North Gate, throughout the Sheepmarket, It ys ordered for his Matie more easier passage there, that for that faire daye onelie, the Sheepmarket shalbe removed into Abington streate, and shall there be kept for that faire onelie, and noe longer

Item yt ys ordered that every householder from the Northgate the sheepmarke and from thence of the sheepmarket by the hynde gate over the Checker or market place, and from the Checker against the Woodhill directlie by the bell downe to the South bridge, shall cause their howses to be painted or coloured with [illegible] called white and blacke, upon paine of everie householder making defaulte to forfeit xx[s] and shall likewise provide sande for every one of their dores to spread abroade the streates upon like paine.

Item yt ys ordered that the Northgate, Southgate, Market Cross, and bothe the towne Halles shalbe forthwith coloured or caste into colours, at the towne charge.

Yt is ordered that the Mayor and Aldermen his brethren shall rydd in their scarlet gownes with their best attyre, and with their horses furnished with [illegible] clothes, to meet the King and Queene at the verie beginning of the liberties.

Yt ys also ordered that all those that have bene Bayliffs of this towne and the forty eight Burgesses shall come and appeare decentlie and comelie attired in their black suites and faire gownes before Mr Maior and his brethren in the Guildhall of the same towne, by eight of the clock in the aforenoone of the Fifteenth of the instant, then and there to doe and be ordered as by them shalbe prescribed, upon paine of everie person making defaulte to forfeite fyve powndes.

On the occasion of this first state visit of James to Northampton, the corporation presented to him a petition relative to the tolls exacted by the city of London on the goods of the Northampton hosiers, contrary to their charter rights. To this petition no reply was returned, and after waiting till the last day of October, the assembly instructed one of their chamberlains to proceed to London to endeavour to obtain an answer.

James, with his court, also sojourned at Holdenby in the years 1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, and 1618, generally in the month of August. He also appears to have paid several briefer visits. On each of these occasions James would be almost bound to pass through Northampton, and would, no doubt, be always received with some degree of royal acclaim, but so far as we can judge from the extant records, he was only specially entertained by the corporation in 1612 and 1618. The only reference in the orders of assembly to the first of these two visits is in a resolution of October 1st, 1611. The assembly then directed that the money which the late mayor had disbursed "in and about the entertainment of the kinges most excellent majestie at his passing thorough this Corporation in the time of Mr Humfreys Mayoraltie shalbe repaid by the chamberlaines." In 1618 the then large sum of thirty-seven pounds was spent in connection with the royal entry from Holdenby, but we can glean no particulars as to the details.

Charles I. and his queen frequently resided at Holdenby, and must have been well known by sight to the Northampton burgesses. Queen Mary (for she was never called Queen Henrietta, or Henrietta Maria in contemporary documents) paid an unexpected and informal visit to Northampton from Holdenby in the summer of 1627. The queen was waited on by the mayor, and stayed some two or three hours in the town.

The only occasion on which we have found any record of the civic reception of Charles I. and his queen was on July 20th, 1634, when the assembly made the following order:—

Wherean the kings most exelent Matie that nowe is wth his gratious Queene doe intend to make this Corporation in their progresse or way from Holmebie, It is agreed and ordered that there shalbie forthwith provided and bought at the chamber Charge twoe fairr peeces of plate of the value of Threescore Pownder one of the same to be presented to the King's Matie and the other to the Queenes grace at their coming in prograsse thorough this Corporation and all the charge of officers and fees and other occasions for the meeting and attending the kinge and queene thorough the liberties shalbe defrayed out of the Towne Chamber.

When Charles was brought to Holdenby in February, 1647, by arrangement with the Scotch army, he came by way of Market Harborough, but on his removal thence in the following June by Cornet Joyce, he passed in his coach for the last time through Northampton on his melancholy journey to London.

So far as we have been able to ascertain, Northampton was not visited by either Charles II. or James II.

William III. made an evening progress through Northampton in the winter of 1689, "great illuminations being made." On October 25th, 1695, the king made another visit at eight o'clock in the evening, when the streets from the south gate to the north were "very much inlightened." According to the chamberlain's accounts, Northampton was visited for a third time by William III. on October 21st, 1700, when the aldermen drank eighteen bottles of claret in his honour, at a cost of £1 9s. 6d.

In 1804, and again in 1805, the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) passed through the town, when the bells were rung in his honour.

On November 12th, 1844, the Queen, accompanied by Prince Albert, passed through the town on her way to the christening of the daughter of the Marquis of Exeter at Burghley House. The town was most lavishly decorated, and the royal carriages stopped for a short time at the foot of the Drapery, to receive an address

from the inhabitants. The Queen returned through the town on the 15th, when she was again met by the authorities, and escorted through the borough.

A costly volume was produced in honour of this visit of the Queen to Northamptonshire, which is now of some rarity. The book, however, is much disfigured by what can only be regarded as either a stupid hoax or a fraudulent imposition. At the end of the volume is an imaginary picture in colours, of Northampton in the time of Elizabeth, which purports to be a facsimile from an old manuscript. This is accompanied by letterpress, descriptive of Queen Elizabeth's entry into Northampton in obsolete spelling and is supposed to be taken from the town records. These impostures have not even the merit of cleverness, for though they may take in the unwary, they could not for a moment deceive any true antiquary or historical student.

The Armada.

It is proposed, in the remainder of this section, to group together, in chronological order, a considerable number of extracts and statements from the town records and accounts, relative to national, rather than local affairs.

It is interesting to find that Northampton determined to hold a pageant in honour of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The following are the two accounts of this entertainment, given by local chroniclers:—

"A warliko Fight prepared by the Townsmen in honour of victory over the Spanish Armada was well performed, and all the Towns far and near came to see it."

"This year a warlike feat was exhibited in the market place by the townsmen; the hall over the conduit (in which the companies of tradesmen used to meet) was metamorphosed into a Castle, and surnamed the Groyne, on the top of which a tower was made. In the front of the hall, towards the market place, a court was made, with a fence like to the town wall, fitted up with gates. Edward Hensman was captain of the Groyne, and he with his band kept the castle, while Thomas Judkin and Thomas Sanbrook commanding the besieging party (called the English); after various marches, countermarches, manœuvres and skirmishes, were, on the first two days of attack, repulsed, though without any very serious loss; but on the third day the attack succeeded, and the assailing party having beaten their opponents in their stronghold, set the

ordered that £9 should be paid out of the chamber, and £18 raised by assessment.

Another assessment entry of the time of James I refers to the national dowry provided for the Princess Elizabeth on her marriage with Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine. In 1612 an assessment for £20 was ordered on all owners of lands within Northampton "being soe much as this corporation hathe compounded to paye for and towardes an aide in the marriage of the Royal Ladie the Ladie Elizabeth the kinges Maties daughter." This marriage subsequently involved the country in war. In 1619 James' son-in-law claimed the crown of Bohemia in the protestant interest, and was resolutely opposed by the imperialists, with the result that he was shortly driven out of the Palatinate. A voluntary subscription and a loan at a high rate of interest were raised for an English expedition on Frederick's behalf. Parliament approached the subject in a half-hearted way so far as grants were concerned. These brief statements are necessary in order to understand the action of Northampton with regard to this custom.

In 1623 Mr. Leonard Wollaston collected the gratuity given out of the corporation towards the recovery of the Palatinate, but as he was not pressed or urged to pay the same, the assembly agreed on March 11th, 1623-4, that he should pay every person's money back again, and that for this action he should be held harmless.

In July, 1637, Northampton was visited by Lord Holland Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests, whereupon the corporation presented him with a silver-gilt cup of the value of £15 or £16.

The stirring events of the great civil war in which Northampton played no small part, have been recorded, so far as the town was concerned, in the previous section. Here, however, it may be mentioned that in December, 1654, General Cromwell was "chosen Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and soe proclaymed throughout England here (Northampton), by the Maior and the rest of his officers." [Peirce's MS.]

Oath of Allegiance.

On September 19th, 1662, before Sir Justinian Isham, Sir William Dudley, Sir Samuel Danvers, and ten other royal commissioners, the corporation of Northampton took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, according to the act of 13 Charles II.

and subscribed their names in the great order book, after the following declaration —

"I doe declare that I hold that there layes noe obligation upon me or any other person, from the oath comonly called the Solemne League and Covenant, And that the same was in it selfe an unlawfull Oath and imposed upon the subjects of this Realme against the knowne Lawes and Liberties of this kingdome."

It was signed by John Brafield and Thomas Thornton, who both claimed to be mayor, by William Langham and John Woolston, bailiffs; by William Rushton, steward; by John Fowler, town clerk; by Francis Pickner and Lawrence Maydwell, bailiffs then elected; by Thomas Maydwell, town attorney; and by Henry Lee, who claimed to be both town clerk and mace bearer; and by thirty four other members of the corporation. After their names come the signatures of sixty other burgesses, of the four serjeants-at-mace, of the sexton and town crier, and of three churchwardens.

A large number of the members of the corporation who apparently cheerfully subscribed to this declaration, had equally readily subscribed to the solemn league and covenant a few years earlier!

In January, 1672-3, the assembly ordered "That those Farmers of this towne that have lately drawne the kings carriages and are not satisfyed for the same be payd by the severall Constables of towne out of their levyes, or as Mr Mayor and the Justices shall this order." This refers to wagons impressed for the conveyance of ammunition and other stores. Several like entries occur in later years.

Duke of Monmouth.

In the end of January, 1682, the Duke of Monmouth made a progress from London to the north, with a view of keeping himself in evidence, and adding to the number of his supporters. He travelled with a hundred attendants on horseback, and wherever the Whig interest prevailed, he was received with fervid acclaim. The Duke does not appear to have stopped a night at Northampton, but merely to have passed through the town, baiting his troop on the way. The only reference to this visit in the town books is, that the chamberlain paid £2 9s. "for the duke of Monmouth's wyne at the George." From this entry we assume that some of the Northampton corporation took wine with the popular duke.

James II. and Removal of Town Officials

On February 6th, 1685, Charles II. died, and the following extracts from the mayor's accounts show the expenses incurred in the Northampton corporation in proclaiming his successor —

	£	s	d
P^d the Drumers att Proclayming the King	0	5	0
P^d to the Towne Waytes	0	5	0
P^d Wm Richards for wyne att proclayminge the King .. .	2	4	[illegible]
P^d Mr Flekney more for wyne	0	[illegible]	[illegible]

Later on in the same year occur the following entries in the mayor's accounts, which probably refer to some of the numerous arrests in connection with Monmouth's rebellion :—

	£	s	d
P^d the charge of the Prisoners sent in a Wagon to Oxford . .	0	[illegible]	0
P^d Packwood for hoops to tilth the Wagon	0	5	0

Two years later, 1687, the accounts afford proof of the frequent movement of troops that characterised the brief but inauspicious reign of James II. :—

	£	s	d
P^d Mr Bostock for wyne for the Officers that were in Towne .	0	14	[illegible]
P^d for bringing back a Wagon from the Soldiers goeing to Harborow	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
P^d Mr Bostock for wyne for ye Officers that mett in the Towne	0	[illegible]	[illegible]

In July, 1683, the corporation had petitioned for a new charter which was granted in the following September It corresponded in most respects to its predecessors, save that it concluded with a most significant clause, by which the king reserved "power to amove the Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, or other officer of the town or any of them by letters under our signet." When James II. found himself in difficulties with his subjects, he did not hesitate to freely use such powers as these, for the removal of municipal officials whom he distrusted

On March 1st, 1687-8, the orders of the king and council dated February 24th, in accordance with the revised charter, were received in Northampton, whereby the mayor, the elected justice, three other aldermen, the town attorney, eight bailiffs, and twelve burgesses were removed from their places in the assembly By an order of the following day, delivered at Northampton on the same date, the king and council filled up these vacancies with other names

The town most meekly submitted An assembly was called on the very day the letters patent were received. The book of orders

gives the royal decrees *in extenso*, and then states that "the aforesaid Orders of King and Counsill were Obeyed." The only other business done by the assembly was the conferring of the freedom of the town on the Duke of Berwick (the illegitimate son of James II.), "and alsoe on the Noblemen Com^e^ Officers and Gents that came to this towne with him."

On April 6th, 1688, the assembly was summoned to receive the orders of the king and council dated March 25th, whereby three more aldermen, two bailiffs, and eleven burgesses were displaced from their offices in the corporation, accompanied by a second royal order dated March 26th, nominating others to fill their places. The assembly listened to the orders read, agreed that they should be enrolled in their book of orders, and obeyed

A third set of royal orders, removing an alderman and six bailiffs, and substituting others, was received in May. The fourth exercise of this much strained royal prerogative was made under date of September 2nd and 3rd, when the two acting bailiffs were removed, and others substituted in their places. These warrants were received in Northampton on September 21st, and were on the same day humbly read, enrolled, and obeyed by a duly summoned assembly.

This arbitrary exercise of the king's power, particularly with regard to the mayors, must have thrown the government of most of our towns into much confusion. It is somewhat extraordinary that the peace of an important and excitable town such as Northampton was so completely preserved through these rapid changes. John Willoughby, the country gentleman made mayor of the town by the king in February, 1687-8, presided over an assembly held at the guildhall, on September 25th, 1688. Henry Flexney was then unanimously chosen mayor-elect. But the court would have none of this popular election, and James II.'s last act, so far as Northampton was concerned, was to remove Flexney from the mayoralty, and by royal proclamation (not a warrant of the council) to put Thomas Atterbury in his place. This proclamation was received on November 8th (three days after the landing of William of Orange at Tor Bay), and on the same day an assembly was summoned, presided over by Mr. Atterbury. Probably the news of the imminent overthrow of the court party had reached Northampton, for Mr. Atterbury, after presiding as mayor on this one occasion, had the courage to decline to act any longer. Where-

Queen Mary died of small pox on December 28th 1694. The assembly, on January 24th, 1694, ordered that the common seal be affixed to an address to the king to condole with his majesty on the death of the Queen, "and Mr Mayor desired to carry it at as easy charge as he can."

The mayor's accounts give the details of this expenditure as follows :—

	£	s	d
Spent att John Baylys about the Addres to the King	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pd John Earle goeing to the E of Northton about the Addresse	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Given Mr Recorder for his Advise and assistance in the d'livring the Adres to the King	1	5	[illegible]
Spent upon that occasion in Coach hire and charges up and down	5	3	[illegible]

The first entry in the mayor's accounts, 1697-8, is the sum of 5s. given to the king's messenger when he arrived with the "Proclamations of Peace." This refers to the important Peace of Ryswick. The chamberlain's accounts show that in honour of that treaty, Northampton spent ten shillings on sixty faggots for a bonfire; £3 10s. on claret for the corporation; and three shillings on the town drummers.

In the same year the corporation rejoiced at the king's return from the continent, at the cost of nine shillings worth of wine whilst in 1698 the king's birthday was celebrated in a like fashion at the expense of £3 5s., a modest 5s. 6d being paid at the same time "for Ale for the Officers."

The following extracts from the mayor's accounts during William's reign show how frequent were the movement of the soldiers through Northampton.—

		£	s	d
1691	Pd Mr John Bayley for his journey to London and for have him about removeing the Soldiers out of towne	1	10	[illegible]
	Given to 120 men of the Lt Cutts his Regiment to pass throw the towne	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Pd for conducting several Soldiers to Daventry	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1692	Spent upon Officers at Peacock and Richd Taylors	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Spent upon Officers at George and Mr Brafields	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Pd Mr Lucas for Linkes and a Tarr barrill	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Spent at Hall when Generall Jrakie came to Towne	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Gave to severall wounded soldiers as came from Ireland	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Pd Matt Honnor his Bill for his horses for officers and soldiers at severall tymes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1693	Pd Harman Hatt for carrying out Warrants to Impresse Waggons at Old Foxton and Walgrave	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Pd him more for goeing to 7 Townes for Waggons	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

		£.	s.	d.
	P^d Hutt more for 2 jurneys to impresse Waggons	0	2	0
1694	Spent at Rose and Crown upon the Officers Ld Oxfords Regimt	0	2	6
	Spent at George upon Col. Rowe's Officers to gaine them to march the next morning.	0	3	0
	Spent upon Col Bellasies Officers	0	1	6
	Spent upon Officers of Ld Arom's Regiment	0	1	6
	P^d the Kings messenger and for a Procl. about Col Parker .	0	1	0
	P^d for the axe of the little house upon the hill Mr Kimbolds for a Guard house for the foot	1	0	0
	P^d for straw for the Guard house and Carriage for E. of Denbys foote	0	0	9
1698	Spent when the Accompt of 1195^l was setled as due to the Towne Inneholders from the Soldiers	0	12	0
	P^d for Carriages for the foot soldiers	0	16	0
	Given to Soldiers and Travellers . . .	2	1	7
1700	P^d for wyne for the Officers for the Princess Anne Regiment	0	6	6
	And for bringing the Carryages	0	7	0
	P^d to Treat the horse Officers comeing from the Campe ...	0	7	0
	P^d to Treat the foot Officers	0	14	0
	Spent upon a Treat for all the officers the Aldermen being present	3	0	0
	P^d to Cristopher Thompson and Mr Billes for charges for their Carriages of the King's Ammamition and baggages to Harborow	0	5	0
	P^d for 4 bottles of Clarett to treat the Com Officers att Towne Hall	0	4	0

A bonfire in the market place was the invariable Northampton custom on the evening of Gunpowder Day. The fire was usually under the charge of the two beadles or bellmen. Occasionally all three bellmen (*i.e.*, the town crier and the two beadles) were paid a shilling apiece for attending at the fire, as was the case in 1698. In 1703, 6s. 8d was paid for "Wood and Kids att the Bonfire," as well as another shilling for a tar barrel In addition to other public drinking at the cost of the corporation, the assembly generally indulged in limited potations and tobacco within the guildhall. Pipes and candles are a usual November 5th entry under many years Thus in 1696 seven shillings and two pence was "spent in Hall" that day, in addition to eight bottles of claret at twelve shillings. In 1698 the hall was content with 7s 6d. worth of ale, and the like amount was spent in bread and cheese and ale for all the officers. In 1707 forty faggots were bought for the bonfire at 2½d. each, the waits were paid 4s., the two beadles a shilling each, whilst 10s. 6d. was assigned "for ale for all the officers." In 1708 a variety was introduced into the monotony of the annual gunpowder

or the bonfire cost 7s. 2d. The drummers, who by this time had become a regular part of the town's civic state, received a shilling apiece: they were three in number. The four waits, or town musicians were paid on a like scale. The tobacco, pipes, and candles, brought that evening into the town hall cost 6s. 7d; the bread and cheese and ale consumed in the same place, 9s. 10d; whilst the amount expended on wine came to £3 4s. 9d

At the thanksgiving day in 1706 for the victory at Ramillies, there was the far larger expenditure of £10 18s. 4d; the chief expense was £7 19s. 6d. for seven dozen of wine, the remainder being made up of faggots for the bonfire, ale, waits, trumpet and drums, and bellmen.

The union of England and Scotland into the one kingdom of Great Britain, in 1707, made a considerable stir throughout the realm. On April 25th, the court of aldermen agreed "that Mr Recorder be desired to draw up an address to the Queene about ye Union" It was at the same time ordered that on the approaching May day, being the day appointed for thanksgiving for the union, the whole house should attend church in their gowns, also that there were to be bonfires in the evening, treating with wine, etc. The chamberlain's accounts show that £6 2s. 3d. was spent on the occasion.

The chamberlain's accounts for the year 1707-8 also include a payment of £4 6s. to "Mr Recorder for 2 addresses to the Queen." We conclude that one of these addresses had reference to the day of humiliation on January 14th, 1707-8, in consequence of our continuous disasters upon and withdrawal from Spanish soil, and the wreck of the British squadron on the Scilly Isles. The other address would be doubtless one of congratulation on the victory of Oudenarde.

The terrible and continuous dynastic wars of Anne's reign kept England constantly on the strain of alternate fasting and feasting, appointed days of humiliation being almost regularly followed by days of thanksgiving, or *vice versa*, according to whether England gained the victory or suffered defeat. In August, 1708, England was ordered to rejoice for the victory of Oudenarde. The chamberlain's accounts show that the following were Northampton's official contributions to the rejoicings. The corporation being determined to outdo previous efforts, hired two trumpeters at a heavy charge.

14,000. The chamberlain's accounts have the following entries relative to this victory:—

	£.	s.	d.
The great news of beating the French.			
Wait players ale and money 5s and Drums 5s 6d	0	10	6
The Sextons Ale	0	1	0
John Moores bill	1	16	0

November 22nd, 1709, was also a thanksgiving celebration when £4 15s. 8d was spent on wine, music, and a blaze in the market place.

On November 7th, 1710, a thanksgiving was proclaimed for "a signal and glorious victory in Spain," when Philip of Spain was defeated by our troops in alliance with the Archduke Charles at the battle of Taragona. The Northampton celebrations took the form of spending 11s. 1d. on forty-four faggots, cider, and ale; £2 14s. on wine and broken glasses; 4s. 6d. on ale for officers; 10s. on two trumpeters; 10s. on the waits; and 10s. on drummers.

The peace of Utrecht was celebrated in the summer of 1713, when the Northampton corporation spent £5 11s. on a bonfire, waits, drums, trumpets, and a hogshead of ale, etc. At an assembly held on May 18th, 1713, it was ordered and agreed by the whole house "that there be an address to the Queene under the Corporation Seale." On May 29th of the same year, £8 2s. 6d. was spent on town festivities, two hogsheads of ale being given to the populace at a cost of £6 5s. We are unable to explain why this 29th of May should have been so specially commemorated.

The Georges.

On the death of Queen Anne, the corporation spent 30s. in hanging the pulpit of All Saints, and their official seats with black, whilst a hogshead of ale drunk on the coronation day of George I. cost £3 15s.

In 1718-19, the mayor's accounts show an item of £1 2s., which was "paid Thomas Hanson for maintaining mutineers and a Guard and Guard House." Mr. W. King was paid the same year 7s. for "5 Deserters and for Straw and wood."

The fair of December 8th, 1721, was put off in consequence of a public fast occurring on that day, and a guinea was paid for crying the same in neighbouring market towns.

In 1722-3 there was a thanksgiving day, for the constables, wait players, and serjeants-at-mace were paid this year for their

attendance on November 5th, thanksgiving day, May 29th, and August 1st. There does not appear to have been any other payment, and there was no bonfire.

On the occasion of the coronation of George II., in 1728, the constables and thirdboroughs received 7s. 6d., the waits and serjeants 9s., and the drums, bellmen, and hall keeper, 8s. 9d.

The following entries are reminders of the stirring days of 1745, when Prince Charles Edward succeeded in getting as far south as Derby with his little army:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid Charges for inlisting men to serve his Majesty at the time of the Rebellion	5	1	0
P^d the Constables and Serjeants for their assistance therein	0	5	0
P^d Wm Atterbury a Bill for Ribbons for Cockades for Soldiers . .	1	2	8

On April 17th, 1746, the town paid 2s 6d. towards a bonfire on the Duke of Cumberland's birthday, and on April 26th, 1s. towards the same purpose "at the Defeat of the Rebels."

In 1766 the corporation drew up an address to George III. on his accession. There was no expensive coach hire to London for the purpose of presenting it, for it was simply sent by post.

In 1789, the town drank £5 8s. worth of ale in honour of "the Kings Recovery."

The town hall was illuminated in June, 1794, for the hard won victory of Earl Howe over the French Fleet.

In 1797 Mr. Thompson was paid 20s for "Candles to illuminate the hall on account of Admiral Duncan's Victory" off Camperdown. In connection with this victory, the assembly, on October 7th passed the following resolution:—

> That the sum of twenty Guineas be subscribed by this Corporation towards the Relief of the Widows and Children of the brave seamen who fell in defence of their Country in the glorious Engagement of the eleventh instant under Admiral Duncan, and that Mr Thomas Hall do pay the same out of the money in his hands at the bar of Lloyds Coffee House, London, as soon as convenient."

At the beginning of the year 1798, affairs looked very serious for England, and on February 7th, the assembly passed the following self-denying ordinance:—

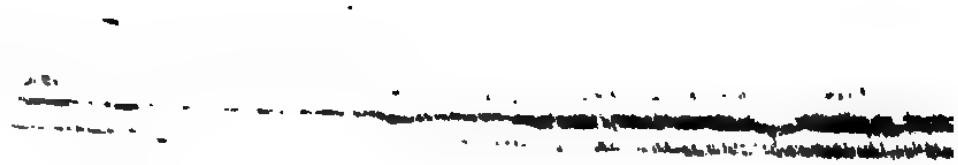
> That this Corporation subscribe £500 to the aid of Government at the present Crisis, and that all public treats be abolished during the continuance of the present War the better to enable this Corporation to afford the above subscription.

On August 1st, 1798, Nelson won the great battle of the Nile to which victory these two entries refer:—

SECTION THIRTEEN.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS IN 1328—ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY BY THE ASSEMBLY—RETURNS *temp.* PHILIP AND MARY—ELIZABETHAN ELECTIONS—RETURN OF THE RECORDER AND HIS SON—ELECTIONS UNDER THE STUARTS—A SINGLE MEMBER DURING THE COMMONWEALTH—CONTESTED ELECTIONS OF 1661—CONTESTS IN 1663, 1670, AND 1678—WALPOLE'S EXCISE BILL—WHOLESALE CREATION OF FREEMEN, 1733—HOUSEHOLDERS AND NOT FREEMEN DECLARED ELECTORS—THE NOTORIOUS ELECTION OF 1768—GIGANTIC EXPENDITURE—EXTRACTS FROM HALL'S MS.—CORPORATION VOTE £1000 FOR THEIR CANDIDATE IN 1826—ELECTIONS OF 1830 AND 1831.



MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A LIST of parliamentary burgesses for the borough of Northampton, beginning from the first year of Edward I., has been printed in several publications and exists in three or four manuscript accounts of the town. So far as we have been able to test the accuracy of this list, by documents at the Public Record Office, it is quite satisfactory down to the end of the reign of Edward VI., and it does not seem worth while to burden these pages with any mere repetition.

It is well known that the representative burgesses of the boroughs, as well as the knights of the shire, were usually paid for their services, down to comparatively modern days, but it is not for the most part remembered that their payment came from (to adopt modern parlance) the local rates and not from the imperial exchequer.

The close rolls for 1328 contain the copy of a writ, dated October 31st, addressed to the mayor and bailiffs of Northampton, for the payment to Adam de Cotesbroke and Geoffrey de Harleston of the sum of £4 16s. for expenses in attending the parliament at New Sarum, to wit, twenty-four days at 2s. a day.

The early custom of the borough had undoubtedly been for the commonalty in public assembly to elect their parliamentary burgesses. The choice of the commonalty not infrequently fell, as might naturally be expected, upon those who were serving or had recently served the town as mayors or bailiffs, as is proved by the frequent similarity of names between the town officials and the parliamentary representatives. It does not seem, however, that there was any rule to this effect, until the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. From about that time, for a considerable period, it was the custom to elect solely from the oligarchy that then composed the corporation, and the electors were merely the members of the corporation. In the reigns of both Henry VII. and Henry VIII., the acting bailiffs were appointed the parliament men.

An assembly was called on October 6th, 1554:—

The assembly ordered on June 19th, 1660,—"That the Town Clerk and other Corporation of the Neighbourhood be summoned and warned of their Constitution in the Choice of Burgesses to serve in Parliament by the Mayor Bailiffs and Burgesses" for the apparently usurped interference of the corporation with parliamentary elections soon came to an end.

Freeman's *History* says that Mr. Harvey, the recorder and member died in 1662, and that Sir John Norwich was chosen in his place. He also states that the mayor, John Twigden, was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, where he lay several days, which cost him £[illegible] a day, for making a false return of members to serve in parliament. The order book records the conferring of the freedom of the town on Sir John Norwich, knight and baronet, on December 23, 1660, by the general consent of an Assembly warned then to meet. At which time there appeared upon calling the house The Mayor, Foure Aldermen, Nynetteene Bailiffs and thirty six of the xxiii. Burgesses.

Sir James Langham was associated with Sir John Norwich in the representation of Northampton in 1661. This was the Pensionary parliament which sat for eighteen years. The election of this year is the first of which the poll is on record, the choice being no longer confined to the corporation, but placed in the hands of the general body of the burgesses or householders. The numbers polled were, Harvey 416, Langham 331, Norwich 252. The mayor, however, made a false indenture of return, and on investigation the reputed poll was upset and Langham and Norwich declared duly elected.

In 1662, although there was no general election, the Northampton seats appear to have been declared vacant, and Sir Charles Compton and Richard Ramsford were returned unopposed. Sir Charles, however, died before he had taken his seat, and Sir James Langham was chosen in his place. Mr. Ramsford was also speedily appointed one of the barons of the exchequer, and another contest took place after a curious fashion, of which Hall's MS. gives the following account:—

On March 7th 1662/3, Mr Mayor (Mr John Bridgeman) went for his serjeants and gave them order to warn an Assembly for Monday March 9th to meet at 9 o'clock for the election of a burgess. When the assembly was met Mr Mayor caused the town clerk to read the precept, thereupon Mr Thornton and Mr Collins asked the Mayor whether or no he would proceed to Election of the burgesses, which [illegible] to [illegible] Mr Collins gave an Item out of the Hue Window, and they without [illegible] at a House [illegible] then Mr Thornton and Mr Collins with many others passed out of the House, and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the same assembly the chief votes [illegible] in Sir J [illegible] the representatives [illegible] in Parliament, and [illegible] opposition to the pern [illegible] House of Commons last Session for e [illegible] they were requested to accept th [illegible] amongst the honorary f

The [illegible] were reserved to was the f [illegible] for the prevention of sm [illegible] against which a [illegible] was speedily sanded.

[illegible] says — "In this year [illegible] the candidates were Major Co [illegible] Wilmer Esq., and Lord Halifa [illegible] at this time had sent Col. Montag [illegible] This gave great offence to the Whig [illegible] Wilmer and gave him one single vote [illegible] made some hundreds honorary Freeme

The corporation of Northampton [illegible] Tory in [illegible] and their own ord [illegible] of the term "corrup

April 9th, 63 more names were added under like conditions, yielding a total of 396 false freemen made solely for election purposes!

The triumph of Messrs. Compton and Montague was, however, of short duration, for on a petition being presented to the house, Montague was unseated, and Wilmer declared duly returned in his place. Freeman's *History* gives the following as the result of this election, not even naming the making of the bogus freemen:—Compton 973, Wilmer 965, Montague 875. We can only suppose these are the figures eventually accepted by the House of Commons after inquiry. We have nothing here to say as to the elections of 1734, 1741, 1747, 1754, and 1761.

In 1740 the corporation took legal opinion as to the parliamentary franchise of the town. It was then stated, as Mr. Murray's opinion, that the right of election was confined to inhabitants being householders, and that freemen who were non-resident were disqualified. It was also stated that the receipt of alms was a disqualification.

At the celebrated election of 1768, the corporation espoused the cause of Sir George Osborne, and Sir George Rodney. Shortly before the event they coolly obtained counsel's opinion "at the expense of the town," as an election committee. Mr Caldecott the deputy recorder, gave it as his opinion that the distribution of money or coals to the wives of persons entitled to vote, in the names of Lord Northampton and Lord Halifax, amounted to bribery under 2 George II c. 24, that lodgers or inmates renting a room could not vote; and that all those who were upon any list for receiving any public or private charity were disqualified.

The date of this opinion is October 5th, 1767, and on October 21st, Mr. Caldecott's further advice was sought with the result that the following interesting opinion was elicited —

The last determination, 16 Charles II, as is expressly declared on the journals of the House of Commons, says "that the inhabitants of the town of Northampton being householders and not receiving alms are the *proper* electors." It seems to me that from considering that determination, and that freemen had usually voted at former elections, the doubt was made in 1734 whether the word *proper* ought to be construed restrictive, and to mean the same as only proper electors, or whether as freemen had before voted they were not to be considered equally proper electors. However, that doubt being submitted to the house, the right was not afterwards insisted on in favour of the freemen, and the resolution of the house on that occasion was consistent with the exclusion of the freeman's right of voting. I think such proceedings in the House of Commons in 1734, an evidence to show that the sense

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

various witnesses to substantiate or invalidate his claims were frequently heard. This was the cause of the long continued polls. Only sixteen votes were recorded on the opening day of the Northampton poll.

The mayor and the two bailiffs sat as returning officers, with the deputy recorder by their side. Three barristers, Messrs. Graham, Hett, and Phillipps, appeared as counsel for Mr. Howe, and two, Messrs. Hopper and Murphy, for Osborne and Rodney.

The opening statement of the minute book is as follows:—

As the Mayor was coming to the Poll Booth Mr Parker called to us to take Notice that the Mayor was parading across the Market Hill to the Booth with Colours of Sir Geo. Osborne and Sir Geo. Rodney which (we observed) were Yellow and Blue Flags with the following Inscriptions "Watts and Liberty,' "Toleration and Peace,' "Friends to the Poor and Trade.' Also Observed that the Constables' Staffs attending the Mayor were Ornamented with Orange Colour and Blue Ribbons (being the same Colours worn by the friends and Voters of Sir Geo. Osborne and Sir Geo. Rodney) tho' the Staffs of the Constables who attended Mr Howes side of the Booth were not ornamented at all. The Mayor and Bailiffs being seated in the Booth with Mr Howe on one side and Sir Geo. Osborne and Sir Geo. Rodney on the other Proclamation was made and the Town Clerk read the precept

The following are among the more remarkable incidents of the polling:—

Daniel Lynch, weaver, refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and was thereupon rejected.

John Hickman, confectioner, claimed to vote for a house in Gold street, of which Mr. Cox was the landlord; the mayor declined to wait for Cox's evidence, and ordered the man to be polled; he polled Osborne and Rodney. At that instant Cox entered, and gave evidence the voter was not his tenant. "Some clamour and hissing arising on Mr Howe's side of the Booth at this man being polled, Mr Murphy said 'If you are for a riot, I will riot with any of you.'"

James Perceval, gardener, stated in the booth that the party of Osborne and Rodney had offered him thirty guineas for his vote.

On William Reynolds being polled, whilst Mr. Graham was contending that it was a case of occasional residence, the returning officer refused to hear counsel or his evidence any further, and entered the vote; this was but a sample of several like cases.

Edwin Linnell, shoemaker, acknowledged that he came to St. Giles' street only three weeks before, to make a vote, and the mayor allowed it, and he polled Osborne and Rodney.

John Fretter, barber, of Market hill, who appeared in a sailor's dress, said that he had taken the house on December 21st, that he was a barber and perruque-maker, and intended to hang out his pole the next day.

John Wright, gardener, appeared on the first day of the poll much in liquor, and appealed to the mayor as the guardian of the electors, saying that "fetters, chains, and prisons may restrain the body, but cannot restrain the mind." He declined to poll and the mayor said if he did not poll then he could not come again. On a subsequent day, however, he did appear, when it was stated that he had made an affidavit that Althorp had been made into a prison, where he was detained. On examination he stated that "he was taken in a post chaise to Althorpe and lived very well there, that he wanted to come home and was coming home in a post chaise and was stopped; two or three days after he was brought in a post chaise and taken to Mr Revels, and was told he must vote for Mr Howe and Howe only; said Lord Spencer came to him and told him he must vote for Mr Howe, said he thought he could not vote for anybody else, said he walked about the park as free as he pleased." The vote was rejected.

Samuel Dent came in with the colours of Osborne and Rodney, got his vote allowed under doubtful circumstances, and then polled Howe. This strategy was repeated by another voter, Thomas Turner, and with like success.

Richard Trout acknowledged to having said in the previous week that "they (Osborne and Rodney) gave him a guinea a week as a runner, but he had no more vote than a hog", the vote was allowed.

The arguments adduced during the fourteen days' polling usually turned on the questions of joint tenancy, colourable occupation, and receipt of charity or doles.

The following is a list of the occupations of the voters whose claims were argued in the polling booths:—

Apothecary, 1	Glazier, 2	Plasterer, 1
Baker, 8	Grocer, 1	Plumber, 1
Butcher, 9	Hatter, 3	Porter, 3
Basket-maker, 1	Hemp-dresser, 1	Post-boy, 4
Blacksmith, 2	Hoeler, 1	Printer, 2
Bricklayer, 1	Hosier, 4	Saddler, 1
Brewer, 4	Hoop-maker, 3	Sawyer, 4
Breeches-maker, 5	Horse-dealer, 3	Servator, 2

Brickmaker, 2
Broom-maker, 1
Butcher, 14
Carpenter, 19
Clerk (Revd.), 1
Coachmaker, 4
Coachman, 2
Collar-maker, 1
Confectioner, 1
Cooper, 6
Cordwainer, 2
Cork-cutter, 2
Currier, 6
Cutler, 2
Drummer, 1
Exciseman, 1
Farmer, 2
Farrier, 3
Fellmonger, 6
Fishmonger, 1
Flaxdresser, 3
Founder, 1
Gardener, 8
Huntsman, 1
Innholder, 5
Joiner, 2
Labourer, 55
Laceman, 1
Leather-dresser, 1
Lieutenant, 1
Maltster, 2
Mason, 11
Mat-maker, 2
Merchant, 2
Millwright, 1
Miller, 2
Musician, 1
Nailer, 3
Oatmeal-man, 1
Ostler, 1
Painter, 2
Papermaker, 2
Parchment-maker, 1
Pensioner, 1
Permit Writer, 1
Pipemaker, 3
Serjeant of Militia, 8
Servants, 1
Shepherd, 1
Shoemaker, 92
Shopkeeper, 5
Slater, 1
Smith, 5
Staymaker, 2
Tailor, 26
Tanner, 4
Tapster at the Peacock, 1
Fireman, 1
Turner, 2
Usher, 4
Waiter at the Angel, 1
Wax-maker, 2
Weaver, 53
Whitesmith, 2
Wine-cooper, 1
Wool-comber, 23
Wool-sorter, 2
Wool-stapler, 3

The graphic account of this memorable election, written at the time by Mr. Joseph Hall in his MS. book, has not hitherto been published:—

In this year there was the most violent contested Election ever known in this or any other Borough. The Lords Northampton and Halifax had for many years each sent his Man. This year the former named Sir George Rodney, ye latter Sir George Osborne, who were opposed by Sir James Langham at first, and afterwards by the Honble Mr Thos Howe. Before Sir Jas. Langham declined, one night the two Lords accompanied by their friends paraded the Town with torches etc as was frequent. They met some of Langham's party and from words soon came to blows, and then ye two Lords, two Sir Georges, with ye Mayor and a large party issued from the Red Lyon armed with bludgeons to go to the George to be revenged on the other party, where they fought the people there assembled and broke the windows. Their fears or resentment were so high that they sent that night for their tenants and dependants. Accordingly next morning some hundreds of countrymen armed with sticks and bludgeons entered the town and matters were becoming very serious, but by the very spirited exertions of Lord Spencer (who had espoused Sir James Langham's cause), they were sent away that afternoon, to the great joy of the inhabitants Very soon after this Sir Jas., either thro' cowardice, fear, or had been tampered with, suddenly declined when there was an apparent majority in his favour on the Canvass. Upon this L: Spencer soon after recommended Mr Howe, and the contest was carried on at an enormous expense. Each voter that would had 12, 14, or 50 guineas, some

13th March 1768 Proclaimed the within Notice at the Market Cross, at the upper end of the Drapery, the Middle of the Drapery, at the George Corner, and the Wool Hill in the presence of Thos Breton Esq' Mayor, and John Newcome, and Wm Gibson Bailiffs.

J. J.

"J. J." are the initials of the town clerk, who at that time made all proclamations on the part of the mayor. Other endorsements show that the five places in the chequer ward for making proclamation were the customary ones.

The endorsement on the proclamation of September 3rd, 1780, reads as above, but in addition it is stated that "the Cryer, Mace Bearer, Serjts and peace officers attended, but not in any of their formalities, save the Cryer with his Staff and the peace officers with their staffs"

The following extracts as to subsequent parliamentary elections are from Hall's MS.:—

1774. This year was a General Election the Candidates were Hon Wilbraham Tollemache who came in Mr Howe's room he being dead, Sir Geo Robinson who was approved by a numerous Assembly but one Mr Drummond who solicited and expected the Northampton Interest as it was call'd did not appear, as the Debts were not paid and some other Affronts put on the Town but to the surprize of everybody Sir Jas. Langham who had left his friends in the Lurch before suddenly appeared as a Candidate but he made a very poor figure on the poll the numbers being as follows

Tollemache ..	780
Robinson .	692
Langham	266

1781. At an election this year Lord Lucan chosen in the room of Lord Althorpe who resign'd having been chosen Knight of the shire for Surrey.

1783. This year there was a General Election when Lord Compton and Lord Lucan were nominated Candidates but such was the spirit of party such the Ingratitude of the Town of Northampton such their dislike to encourage their only Friend and such their hatred to Lord Spencer that they nominated one Trotman (a Ribband weaver who had lately had some money left him) to oppose Lord Lucan his Father in Law, at the close of the poll the numbers were as follows the Coalition was this which had some effect, to which Lord Spencer had consented. (*Sic.*)

Lord Compton .	823
Trotman ...	500
Lord Lucan	436

N B —Trotman was obliged to leave the Town and Lord Spencer withdrew some of his favours and the school that he supported was dropt.

1790. This year there was a general Election Mr Trotman the late Member retired for he soon found it a situation unfit for him. The Candidates were Lord Compton and the Hon. Es Bouverie it was at first thought they would have been elected without

310 Shoemakers	Compton	815	13 single votes.
——	Kerrison ...	666	19 single votes
220 Robinson	Robinson ..	639	413 single votes.
90 Kerrison		——	
	Majority... ..	27	for Kerrison.

Sir George Robinson in several advertizments has complained of the Corporation about the St. Thomas' money that he shall appeal to the House of Commons, but I think he will discover that such an appeal will be futile and useless and not attempt it.

Jan 29th 1820. King George 3d died and a dissolution of Parliament being certain Captain Maberly came and began a canvass about Feb 2d Lord Compton and Sir George Robinson about the 8th of that month, but all was still no ribbands flags or liquor was given and so it proceeded untill a Poll commenced in a large booth so constructed that while the Poll went on on one side the disputed votes were investigated on the other, this method promoted the polling and brot it much sooner to a close. it began March 7th and ended on the 11th, but Sir G. Robinson and Captain Maberley were not chair'd untill the 13th, the 11th being Market-day. The defeat of Lord Compton has been ascribed to various causes, perhaps a disagreement about the expenses of the last election laid the foundation, it has also been said that Lord Compton giving only 5s to his poorer voters last election when it was over, while the others gave £1 each, and Maberly gave £5 to those who gave him single votes, it is also said that there was bad management on the part of his Lordship's Committee and it appears that there was no great hostility between the two successfull candidates perhaps all these united to cause this unexpected event. Lord Compton's friends shewn uncommon respect in attending his Lordship from the Town. The number polled was greater than ever The Town was much increased but it was thought many were admitted to poll that ought not. At the final close the numbers were declared to be for

Sir George Robinson	903	single votes	381
Captain Maberley . ..	783	single votes	97
Lord Compton	622	single votes	75
	——		
Majority for Maberley	161	for Robinson	281

Previous to the general election of 1826, the corporation party had much difficulty in finding a candidate to come forward in the Tory interest, on account of the great expense of recent elections In March a deputation waited on Sir Robert Gunning asking him to stand, but he declined. On May 20th an extraordinary and unprecedented resolution was brought before the assembly, whereby they pledged themselves to find £1000 towards the expenses of a suitable candidate. A second deputation then waited upon Sir Robert Gunning, with the result that he complied with their request. The poll opened on June 12th, and closed on the 20th

1810 Sep 23d The Hon Ed Bouverie died and Wm Hanbury Esqr was chosen Member of Parliament for this Town without any opposition Octr 18th 1810 Mr Bouverie left the character of a very upright assiduous and Independent Man

1812 May 11th Mr Percival was by an infuriated assassin shot in the lobby of the House of Commons a more foul and Villainous murder was scarcely ever perpetrated, and the nation very generally exhibited marks of the utmost horror, and in consequence Lord Compton was unanimously chosen one of our representatives in his room.

1812 Parliament was dissolved Sep 28th and our Town election took place Oct 5th when Earl Compton and Wm Hanbury Esqr were elected without opposition.

1814 Wm Hanbury Esqr March 24th 1815 Sent a letter to the town saying that he should not offer himself again to serve us in Parliament this was occasioned by the resentment shown by several for his not supporting the petition against the Corn Bill he stayed away from the house of Commons Lord Compton more bold after having presented the petition voted against the prayer thereof, what will the Town say to him?

1816 A dissolution of Parliament drawing near Sir George Robinson commenced a canvass but Mr Hanbury's Friends did the same for him but he had promised not to oppose Sir George and he requested his friends to desist Soon after Mr Maberley who had been solicited appeared and a sharp contest ensued. It was in the Month of Jan 1818 that Sir George began an open canvass Mr Hanbury's friends then began one for him and with every appearance of success but it soon appeared that he had thoughtlessly gave his word not to oppose Sir G and by letter desired that no further steps should be taken in his behalf (I then declined all future efforts on my part) but a strong party being formed, they invited Mr Maberly who recommended his son Capt Maberly and for four months great exertions and treating giving money by the week to the voters was continued and parading the town with Musick and very great numbers of flags untill June 8th when things took a new turn for Mr Maberly and Son with Sir Edward Kerrison came and on convening a few friends informed them that the Capt Maberly was not quite of age and therefore was ineligible and recommended Sir Edward to their votes Mr Maberly also stated that several acts of bribery had been committed Sir Edward Kerrison was approved and began canvassing and the contest went on with equal spirit, and a Poll commenced on June 6th in tables of 10 for each candidate but proceeded very slow owing to many frivolous and long examinations and speeches of the Counsil On the fourth evening a great riot took place in Mercers Row Sir George's party instigated by one John Hayes began a furious attack on their opponents with stones and pebbles, obtained by tearing up the paving and several were injured, but the Town Clerk read the Riot Act three times, and the mob dispersed Afterwards the poll was protracted until the 30th of June Some of the latter days there was but about 20 votes polled in the day, but it closed on the above day, and although a great many votes were rejected, yet the number polled was some hundreds more than were polled before as appears thus Total number polled was 1,287.

[illegible]

[illegible] Parliament [illegible] the major part of [illegible] the greatest animosity [illegible] the House. Affray [illegible] and even [illegible] the bill [illegible] and venue to allow [illegible] [illegible] quarter [illegible] the [illegible] the greatest [illegible] House. [illegible] the [illegible] the alleged [illegible] was [illegible] Johnson and [illegible] affidavit, the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in affidavit [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] House. [illegible] the resolution [illegible] [illegible] Brown [illegible] misunderstandings that [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] high [illegible] the resolution [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] as an alderman.

The [illegible] use of money [illegible] was strongly [illegible] [illegible] their report in Northa[illegible]

[illegible] the representation of [illegible] Sir George Johnson, Sir R. H. [illegible] The result of the poll, which [illegible] [illegible] Dunning [illegible] and Hill [illegible] [illegible] there was [illegible]

SECTION FOURTEEN.

TOPOGRAPHICAL.

ABBOT'S MEADOW—ABINGTON STREET—AUSTIN LANE—BALLS LANE—BALMESHOLM LANE—BEARWARD STREET—BELL BARN LANE—BAILIFFS HOOK—BLACK FRIARS LANE—BRIDGE STREET—BUTCHERS ROW—CAP LANE—THE CHEQUER—COLLEGE STREET—COW LANE—CRACKBELLE LANE—DERNGATE—THE DRAPERY—DRUM LANE—DYCHURCH STREET—FENNELL WELL—FETTER LANE—FLESHMONGER STREET—THE FRIARIES—THE GLOVERY—GOBION LANE—THE GUT—GYSELGOT—HERMITAGES—HOGMARKET LANE—THE HORSEMARKET—HORSESHOE LANE—IVIE LANE—KING STREET—KNIGHT STREET—LADY LANE—MARVELLS MILL—MAREHOLD—MERCERS ROW—MOUNTSORREL—NEWLAND—NORTH STREET—NUNS WELL—QUART POT LANE—PIKE LANE—ROOD-IN-THE-WALL—ST. GILES' STREET—ST. GEORGE'S ROW—ST. JOHN'S LANE—ST. LEONARD'S STREET—ST. MARTIN'S STREET—ST. MARY'S STREET—SCARLETWELL LANE—SHEEP STREET—SILVER STREET—SMEREKERNEREROWE—SWINEWELL STREET—THREE POTS LANE—THE TOWER—WEST STREET—WOOD STREET—WOOD HILL—WOOLMONGER STREET.

TOPOGRAPHICAL.

CONSIDERABLE care has been taken in the preparation of a plan of old Northampton, based upon Speed's small plan of 1610, to illustrate the sites of the old buildings of importance, both civil and ecclesiastical, and to show the general run of the streets. The old town walls of about 1300, demolished in 1660, are marked, as well as the probable line of the smaller enclosure of the Anglo-Norman walls. The producing this plan has been a work of much labour, and has been faithfully carried out by Mr. G. Turland Goosey. The writer of this volume has had the advice and kindly help of several capable townsmen in its preparation, but he alone is responsible for the form it assumes and for the identification of sites and streets. A certain amount is conjectural, but nothing has been put down without carefully weighing all the citations of special places. The greatest dependance has been placed upon deeds or court decrees. Many of the latter, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are among the two great volumes of the orders of assembly, but there are also many hundreds of far earlier Northampton deeds at the British Museum and at the Public Record Office.

In this section very brief explanations are offered of most of the places marked on the plan, and referred to throughout this volume.

Abbot's Meadow was an important tract of pasturage on the further side of the river to the west of the town. It was held by the corporation on a long lease in the sixteenth century, and they vainly attempted to obtain permanent possession of it during the Commonwealth. Prior to the dissolution of monasteries, it belonged to the Abbey of St James

Abington Street. This is one of the earliest mentioned streets of the town, there being several references to it in thirteenth century deeds. It naturally took its name from the parish just outside the liberties of Northampton to which it led. Previous to the enlargement of the town, it was, of course, of much shorter length. If our surmise as to Derngate being the original east

Blackfriars' Lane bounded the house of the Dominicans (see *Friaries*) on the south, proceeding from the Horsemarket towards the castle. It occupied much the same position as the present Castle street.

Friars' Gate is mentioned as a boundary in a thirteenth century deed somewhere in this part of the town, and was possibly the last named lane, or it may have denoted a postern gate from the castle precincts in the direction of the Black Friary.

Bridge Street. We have not met with this street name earlier than the fourteenth century, and are inclined to think that the new and straightened thoroughfare of that name, from the south gate to the centre of the town, was not made until the enlargement of the town, about 1300, when Bridge street took the place of Kingswell street as a highway of the first importance.

Butchers' Row was the name given to the series of movable butchers' stalls or shambles in the Market square. These stalls, which were for a long time a fruitful source of contention between the butchers and corporation, after the great fire numbered eighty-four, namely, thirty-nine called the west row, forty-two in the east row, and three at the top. The old site for these stalls was undoubtedly on the west side of the Chequer, but at one period (though apparently only for a short time) they were immediately in front of the Peacock on the opposite side.

Cap Lane or *Cappe Lane* was the name of a lane or narrow street in the north ward, which ran at right angles to Silver street, and formed a continuation of King street into the sheep market. It nearly corresponded to the present Bradshaw street.

The Chequer. When the town was extended and replanned in 1300, the new Market place was given the name of the Chequer. At all events, we have not met with this word in conjunction with Northampton until that period. It gave the name of Chequer ward to the fifth municipal division, the town having previously consisted of only four wards, named after the points of the compass. A good deal has been written that is altogether beside the mark with regard to the connection of this term with the offices of the king's exchequer, which were transferred here for a short time in the reign of John. Others have supposed that the term was connected with Northampton's privilege of having a mint. It would require a short essay to enter into even the briefest explanation of the terms chequer and exchequer; suffice it

town. The corporation swans, as has been elsewhere remarked, were kept on the stretch of water by Marvell's mill, and this was also in another direction.

The unsavoury sounding boundary of *Cowmucke Hille,* is mentioned in a town deed, *temp.* Edward II., and seems, from the context, to have marked what was perhaps an open space half way up the Cow lane.

Crackbelle Lane was a continuation of Fetter lane to the east of St John's Hospital. At an early date it became absorbed in an extension of the hospital precincts. The jury at the inquisition of 1275 report an encroachment on their lane by the master. It is frequently mentioned in early deeds, and is sometimes spelt Crackbowe lane, and sometimes Crackbowle, but Crackbelle is not only the most likely but the most often used spelling.

Derngate. As has been already explained, up to 1300, this seems to have been merely the title for one of the principal town gates, and is supposed to have derived its name from the Celtic word for water. The street now known as Derngate used to be known by the less pleasant sound of Swinewell street

The Drapery. In the time of Edward II., the buildings now known by this name were called the New Drapery, thus affording one of the many cumulative proofs of the new laying out of the town at the beginning of that century. Mercers' Row is frequently spoken of, even as late as Stuart times, as the Old Drapery. If the drapers had been established on both sides of this thoroughfare, it would undoubtedly have been termed Draper street; but the Drapers only occupied the west side. The opposite side, which was of shorter length, and broken up by several approaches to the Market square, was called the Glovery.

Drum Lane. The short narrow street from Mercers' row to the south east corner of the Market square, bore this name in the sixteenth century. Here was situated an old public house called The Drums, from which it probably took the name.

Dychurch Street or lane bore this name in the sixteenth century, when it is described as Dychurch or Dichers lane. Dychurch seems to have been a corruption of Dichers. At all events it bore the name of Dichers lane in the fifteenth century. Another alias for the same road was Groape or Grope lane.

Fennell Well is a boundary mentioned in several town records

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

time of fairly common application to passages such as are now more usually styled alleys.

Gysedget was the name of a way under the wall within the Anglo-Norman town on the east side It is mentioned in the inquisition of 1274, as having being obstructed by the priory of St Andrew. Gysselgutte is also named as a boundary road in a deed of 1291, and several times in the next two centuries It was doubtless originally nothing more than a narrow passage, and the term is simply a reduplication of the same idea, viz., a narrow opening down which probably water flowed from time to time. Gut, as has been said, was but an abbreviated form of gutter; guzzel is a dialect name for a narrow ditch or drain, still in use in the south midlands.

Hermitages. Northampton had two bridge hermitages, which were respectively placed on the town side of the south and west bridges The ancient church of England had a special office for the setting apart of men vowed for life to the half secular and half religious duties of bridge hermits. They acted as bridge wardens, and invited the doles of wayfarers to the repair of the bridges and their approaches; they lived themselves on alms and food tendered them by travellers; and they offered prayers for heaven s blessing, on those journeying, in their cell chapels, or in the more imposing bridge chapels, of which there was one on the further side of the south bridge The names of several of the Northampton bridge hermits can be obtained, and various interesting particulars, but this is not the place for following up such a subject.

Hogmarket Lane. The hogmarket was situated to the west of the Marehold, slightly to the north The road to it from the Marehold was called either Hogmarket lane or Hogmarket street, and frequently occurs in old town documents

The Horsemarket, sometimes called Horsemarket street, seems to have occupied the same site since the days when Northampton first became a market town. We have first met with it as a boundary, in an undated deed of the reign of Henry III., about 1225

Horseshoe Lane was the continuation (as is now the case) of the Horsemarket, on the further side of Gold street. It is described in a deed *temp.* Richard II., as "Horseshoe Lane or Smithies'

about 1300, though then styled Mercers' row, it was not infrequently termed the Old Drapery.

Mount Sorrell was the name of certain high ground or mounds, just within the walls, to the north of the Grey Friars' enclosure. The first mention we have found of it is in 1274, but it occurs several times in deeds of the next two centuries. Mount Sorrell, in Leicestershire, celebrated for its red granite, doubtless obtains its name from the colour of the stone; and this is supposed to be the case with two or three like place names in other parts of England. Possibly the colour of the soil at one time in this place gave the Northampton name. The term a sorrell horse is still in use to describe what is now termed a chestnut

Newland, communicating with the Grey Friars from the north east corner of the Market square, bore that name at least as early as the days of Edward I. Perhaps it was first built upon soon after the establishment of the Grey Friars in an open part of the town, in 1245.

North Street was for a long period the name of the street from the north gate past St. Sepulchre's, Sheep street or the Sheepmarket not beginning till the crown of the hill was passed.

Nuns' Well, Nuns' Bridge, and Nuns' Mill, on the lower side of the Cow Meadow, all originally pertained to the priory of Cluniac nuns at Delapré, on the further side of the river. They are of frequent mention in early deeds.

Pike Lane, which still preserves its name, was a narrow lane or passage parallel to Quart Pot lane, communicating between St. Mary street and West street. We have met with the name several times in the fourteenth century. Doubtless it was so called from pikes or posts at the entrances to keep out cattle and horses.

Quart Pot Lane has of recent years been changed into the higher-sounding title of Doddridge street , but surely it is a pity to change the titles of ancient thoroughfares, on account of their supposed vulgarity. Quart Pot lane is met with as early as the days of Edward I. , it took its name, we presume, even at that early date, from an inn of like nomenclature.

St. Giles' Street bore that name before the town was enlarged, about 1300, when St. Giles' church was outside the walls. At that time the street leading in the direction of the church from All Saints' church would be but a short length.

street St. Michael's street, because the s
Mirime was situated in the west side o
upper end. In Elizabethan days it was
street: for what reason, we are unable to
century the Cock Inn at the Abington s
obtained much repute for its ale, and
name known as Cock lane: under this de
the period natural fame in connection
Cock lane ghost. Possibly it was this
its occupants desirous of reverting to t
street.

Wallingford Street. This name is
days of Henry III. The street forms
Kingswell street and Horseshoe lane, an
always occupied the same site. The name
it would indeed have been curious if th
so well-known a centre of the wool trade
great evidence of its interest in this impo

With regard to the plan at the end
be added that the above alphabetical li
marked thereon is not exhaustive: others
and principal churches, are described in
readily be found on referring to the index
the church of St. Margaret are marked
were in the west bridge, in order to brin

SECTION FIFTEEN.

VARIA ET ADDENDA.

THE MAYOR—OATHS OF TOWN CLERK, BAILIFFS, AND STEWARD—VERNALLS INQUEST—TOWN WATERS IN 1553—COMMON LABOUR—STOURBRIDGE FAIR—MERCHANT FROM CONSTANTINOPLE—STATE LOTTERIES—THE SOUTH BRIDGE—BEDFORD AND MARKET HARBOROUGH ROAD—POSTMASTER—HORSERACING—THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL—NAVIGATION—RAILWAYS.

[redacted]

Coundytt uppon Somons gyven uppon peyne of every one makinge defalte to forfeytt xij^{d}."

Common labour for clearing the town diches was ordered in 1611, 1617, 1623, and 1637.

In 1641 the re-paving of the defective places in the highway of Kingswell lane was effected by a common labour order, and the same was done in 1643 for the amending of the paving of Gold street and St. Giles' street.

STOURBRIDGE FAIR.

Among the earlier chamberlains' accounts occurs the invariable annual entry of 10s. toll to Stourbridge fair. Sometimes this payment is simply entered as a charge to the fair, and at other times as paid to the town of Cambridge.

The explanation of this apparently curious payment to Cambridge is to be found in a sixteenth century indenture preserved among the corporation records, and in the recollection of the national character of this great fair.

The internal trade of England depended mainly on its great seasonal fairs. The largest and most important of all these fairs, at all events so far as the east and south of England were concerned, was that of Stourbridge, near Cambridge. The fair lasted from September 18th to October 9th. It was held in the open country, and temporary booths were erected every year covering an area of half a square mile It was under the jurisdiction of the corporation of Cambridge, and the mayor of that town or his deputy held a perpetual summary court of pie powder, to decide every dispute or affray that might arise on the fair ground, from whose decisions there was no appeal. Every conceivable commodity which could be made or sold found its way to Stourbridge, silks, velvets, and glass, from Italy and Venice, linens from Liege and Ghent, ironwork from Spain, tar from Norway, wines from Gascony, fur and amber from the Hanse towns, porcelain and jewels from the further East, and dried and salted fish from the Baltic. Water transit to the port of Lynn, and on the rivers Ouse and Cam brought these foreign commodities in abundance.

Here, too, was carried tin from Cornwall, lead from Derbyshire, ironware from the Sussex forges, and leather from Northamptonshire But of all home produce the most celebrated were the woolpacks, which were the envy of other nations. Northampton

and Brackley were amongst the foremost in their contribution of wool, and the freemen of Northampton who proceeded to the fair with packhorses and wains laden with wool, usually returned with stocks of cured fish from the Baltic trade. The town of Northampton was of sufficient importance to give its name to one of the streets of booths so hastily constructed for this three weeks fair.

The freemen of Northampton, rejoicing in their general toll exemption as freemen of royal demesne, as well as of chartered exemption, paid no dues of any kind to Cambridge (as lords of the fair) on the wool, or on the leather or other goods they took with them; but continuous and fairly reasonable claims were made on them by Cambridge for some duty on the goods they carried home. On this latter point there was much and prolonged dispute.

An indenture between the mayor and burgesses of Cambridge and the mayor and burgesses of Northampton, of the year 1512, sets forth that an arbitration before two of the kings justices concerning the tolls to be paid by the freemen of Northampton to the town of Cambridge for "tysshe and barrells and all other stuffe and merchandyses by them particularly bought in Stybrydg Feyre and all other manner of passages and carriages through and by the said town of Cambridge all times of the year" decided that the mayor of Northampton was to pay ten shillings yearly in lieu of all tolls on the goods of freemen, provided that it should be lawful to the mayor of Cambridge to take of every cart loaded with merchandise belonging to any freeman of Northampton going out of the said fair of Stourbridge twopence, but foreigners belonging to Northampton were to pay all the customary fees and dues.

By degrees this once great fair dwindled in importance and after 1733 the town of Northampton ceased to pay the annual tribute of 10s. In 1749 the mayor and corporation received a letter from Mr. Thomas Collett, the treasurer of the Cambridge corporation, to acquaint them that the sum of £8 was due for sixteen years of the Stourbridge fair composition.

What the exact result was of this appeal, or whether the arrears were paid or not, we cannot say, but in the Northampton mayor's accounts for 1750 occurs the following significant entry:—'Item Gallons of Rum and Bottles ordered to John Winn for stopping payment of Sturbitch Fair Toll £1 2s.'

Merchant from Constantinople.

In the apprentices and freemens enrolment book (1561-1727) is the following 1585 enrolment of a certificate from the English ambassador at Constantinople, and of a letter of safe conduct from the great Turk. We can only suppose that these documents were enrolled in testimony of the genuineness of the mercantile travels of Henry Austell.

Wee Willm Hareborne Esquyer her ma^{ties} ordinarie ambassador in the Cittie of Constantinople with the Gran Sig^{n} Commonlye Called the greate Turke doe certyfye all and every of what degree soever to whom theis Letters pattentes shall come to be sene Redd or understande that henrye Austell of Knaptofte in the Countie of Leicester gent her ma^{ties} servaunte hath attended on us personally in this presente monthe of September 1585 at sundrye tymes within the sayde Cittie of Constantinople of Thracia which accordinge to his Requeste wee doe herebye certifye under her ma^{ties} Seale and our Firme Dated at our mansion Cauled Rapuniat (?) this xxjth of the month and yere abovesayde beinge the xxvijth of the Raigne of our most gracious mistres and soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England, Fraunce, and Irelande Defendrix of the faythe etc.

William Harborne.

Be yt knowen unto thee whiche arte voyvoode of Bugdania (*sic*) that henrye Austell and Jacomo de Maunci Englishe gentlemen beinge desyrous to Restore unto their owne Countreye hathe Requested o^{r} hyghnes Letters of Safe Conducte throughe o^{r} domynions Wherefore when thys o^{r} Commaundment shall come unto you wee commaunde thee and other o^{r} servauntes there to lett theise aforesayd gentlemen with one servaunte and with goodes and Furniture they have quyetly to passe and commaunde that they have provyded for their moneye such necessarye provision as they shall think requisite for themselves or their horses and yf by chaunce they come into any place where they shall staunde in Feare of their persons or gooddes that thee cause them to be garded with yor men and to be Conducted through all suspected places with sufficiente Companye But have especiall Regarde they Conveye awaye with them none of o^{r} Countrey fayre horses, obey this o^{r} Commaundement and give creditt to o^{r} seale.

Theis Letters of Certificate were enrolled amongeste the rolles of North'ton att the Requeste of henrye Austell gent. who was lyvinge and in perfecte health in Northton the xxixth of Januarye 1585, and was in Northampton att the sygne of the bell there in companye in the presence of Mr. John Bonde of Coddesbrooke Esquyer Wm Wyckens Lawraunce baylie Ric Wylkinson Wm Rawson and Thomas Sanbroke towne clarke as they and every of them wyll depose yf nede Requyer.

State Lotteries.

State lotteries originated in England in 1567-9, when Queen Elizabeth most actively promoted one for the repairs of harbours and fortifications, and other public works. The drawing went on

passed through Northampton is testified to by the following action of the corporation in 1749.

The thanks of the assembly were voted to Lord Northampton, recorder, on January 3rd, 1749, for giving notice to the corporation by letter of a petition being presented to the Commons for leave to bring in a bill for repairing the road between Bedford and Market Harborough, "which bill if it pass into a law will be very prejudicial to the Inhabitants of this Town, the Trade whereof depending in a great measure on the Northern road—leading through this town." At the same, George Rowell, the town clerk, was instructed to forward a petition to Messrs. Compton and Montagu, the parliamentary burgesses, for presentation to the House of Commons, and to beg them to oppose the bill!

Postmaster.

During the Commonwealth there are two references to the Northampton postmaster.

In February, 1646-7, it was agreed that £10 of the postmaster's yearly allowance shall be paid to Richard Holles, the new postmaster upon his suit before Lady day.

In 1649 Richard Holles had resigned the postmastership, for in that year he received 50s. compensation from the assembly for a horse taken for state purposes.

Horse Racing.

It was the custom of several of our older and more important corporations to support horse racing by presenting money or money's worth. Horse racing on Harleston heath was an established sport in the time of Charles I. In 1632 the corporation of Northampton covenanted to make an annual offering of a silver-gilt covered cup of the value of £16 13s. 4d. The chamberlain's accounts for the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, always contain an entry under expenditure of £16 13s. 4d., generally characterised as "the horse race plate," and sometimes as "the Harleston race cup." Among the mayor's receipts for the same period, there is generally entered a sum of £2 as "horse race money"; this money seems to have been always given to the poor, as is sometimes expressly stated.

In the first volume of *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries,* there is a copy of "Articles to be Observed by all those that

Runn for the Purses at Harleston Heath in the County of North-ampton on Wednesday the Twenty Eighth of this Instant March And on Fryday the Thirtieth of the same Month in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty Two."

The course to be run was four miles. The most curious of the thirteen articles is number eight, which is here reproduced :—

"That no Horse Mare or Gelding that is now or at any time heretofore has been the Horse Mare or Gelding of John King of Northampton comonly called Old Jack King shall be Permitted or Allowed to Enter or Runn for either of these Purses The said John King being for Reasons well known Agreed by the Con-tributors to these Plates (As well as by the Contributors to Rowel Quainton and other Plates) thought Unworthy to Runn for any Plate or Purse."

In 1727 there was published "An Historical List or Account of all the Horse Matches Run, and of all the Plates and Prizes run for in England (of the value of Ten Pounds or upwards)." The first prize at Harleston was the corporation plate of £10 13s. 4d. At Northampton plates were offered worth £40, £15, and £[illegible].

In the mayor's accounts for 1733-4 is the following entry :—"Paid to the Duke Marlborough on the horse Race Account pursuant to a Decree in Chancery as appears by Rec' £279 8s. 0d."

Among the miscellaneous papers is one bearing date March 30th, 1734, which explains this entry. It is endorsed "Mr Rogers Receipt for £279 8s. 0d., being money decreed to be paid Duke Marlborough by the Corporation in Relation to Harleston Horse Race." The document recites a chancery decree of 1732 in a cause in which the Duke of Marlborough and Sir Arthur Hesleing were complainants, and the mayor and corporation of Northampton and others were defendants. It was ordered that the Duke (then Earl of Sunderland) should receive £200 and interest from Easter 1724. The order was certified by one of the chancery masters in December, 1733. The Duke of Marlborough appointed Timothy Rogers his attorney on March 1st 1733-4, under his seal and signature, and this is followed on the same document by Rogers' receipt.

It is said that the Harleston heath races ceased to be held after 1739, the Duke of Marlborough's claim to the heath being the cause of their cessation.

The corporation also supported at certain times the town races on the common fields. The first entry relative to this that we have met with was under the Commonwealth.

In March 1658, the assembly ordered "That if there can be noe further abatement procured the Chamberlaines doe provide two plates according to the desire of the Countrey Gent. for this yeare vizt the one of the value of Thirtye pounds, the other of the value of Fourtene pounds which is to be delivered in full of all former arrears." In the margin is written in a later hand "upon what account Nescio."

The assembly, in August, 1822, resolved to subscribe annually £30 to form a purse to be called the corporation purse, provided that no less than four subscribers of £5 each be added thereto, "to be run for by not less than three reputed running horses on the last day of the Autumn races."

The Free Grammar School.

The following additional particulars relative to the later history of the Free Grammar School have been obtained from the borough records since the section on Charitable Foundations passed through the press :—

At the meeting of the assembly on October 27th, 1785, one of the burgesses (Edward Cox) stated that Mr. Woolley, the master of the Free Grammar School, was disposed to lease to him the two houses and gardens in Horseshoe lane belonging to the school, with leave to convert one of the houses into a store for timber. The assembly refused its sanction, as the value of the property would be thereby lessened. Moreover, "the members present being apprehensive that the charitable intention of the founder was not duly attended to, ordered that the Mayor and five others be appointed a committee to inquire how far the good intention of the donor is observed, and what children are educated there upon the foundation."

The assembly met again in the following November, when this committed reported "that it appears to them the stipend given to the master is for freely teaching grammar to such children as shall be sent by parents being free of the town of Northampton without any stipend, and that the usher is to be assistant to the master in teaching the scholars the Latin tongue, and good writing, and arithmetic free as above." It was, therefore, ordered that

are conveyed along it are unavoidably subject to great waste breaking and Pilferage, the communication is much more difficult and expensive than it would have been by water, and nearly all perishable articles of Merchandize are prevented from passing along it.

That this assembly laments that so spirited and useful a body as the Grand Junction Canal Company should not in this instance have acted with its usual Liberality and regard to its own interest in not having made a water communication as above stated, but which this assembly conceives has not been done in consequence of the Company being unacquainted with the great additional Trade and Revenue which might have been derived from it, and which would have been and now would be fully adequate to compensate for the expense of the undertaking.

That this assembly cannot help being alarmed by seeing notices lately given of an intention to apply to Parliament for powers to make a Cut from the Union Canal to join the Grand Junction Canal near Long Buckby instead of joining that Canal and the River Nine or Nen as originally proposed near this Town (and for which an Act of Parliament has been obtained sixteen years ago) thereby not only preventing an early but all future probability of this Town and Neighbourhood having the full advantage of Inland Navigation.

That this Assembly conceives the above Scheme for diverting the Union Canal to Long Buckby if carried into effect would prove highly injurious to this Town and Neighbourhood the River Nine and all Places deriving Benefit from that Navigation.

That this assembly do petition Parliament against the intended Scheme for altering the Line of the Union Canal, and do request the representatives of the Town to assist in preventing the intended Bill from passing into a Law.

That the present Mayor Justices and Bailiffs or any four of them be a Committee for preparing and presenting the said Petitions and also taking such other Measures as they may think proper for obtaining the object of these Resolutions.

That the Town Clerk and the Town Steward be appointed Solicitors to attend the said Committee and assist in promoting and providing the object referred to the said Committee and also to apply to the City of Peterborough the Towns of Oundle Thrapston Wellingborough and such other places as may be interested in the matter for their co-operation and support.

Petitions to the two houses, to the above effect, were adopted by the assembly on March 23rd, 1810.

Railways.

Irrational as was the action of the corporation in opposition to horse-drawn railways on tram-lines in 1810, it was as nothing compared with the strenuous fight against railways in association with steam.

In January, 1831, the assembly curtly decided that "no consent be given by this House to the projected plan for making a Railway to and from London and Birmingham."

Appendix.

Lists of Mayors, Bailiffs, Chamberlains, Stewards, Town Clerks, Serjeants-at-Mace, Town Criers, and Masters of Free Grammar School.

LIST OF MAYORS.

THERE are no documents extant in the public record office from which any complete list of mayors can be obtained. The fairly accurate lists that are not infrequently printed in the local histories of our various ancient boroughs are, as a rule, taken from old rolls pertaining to the town records. Very few actual rolls of that character are extant, but in many a town there are transcripts of such rolls in either public or private custody.

With regard to Northampton, the town muniments do not include any official roll or list of mayors, but there are several MS. lists in private hands, as well as printed ones, which carry back the names of mayors and bailiffs to the beginning of the reign of Edward IV. (March 4th, 1460-1). One of these is in the MS. history of Northampton in Mr. Crick's possession, another in the Hall MS., and a third in the possession of Mr. Christopher Markham. The last of these seems to have been originally an official book, or the property of some official of the Corporation, and was written out in the latter part of the Commonwealth period, probably in 1656, when the lists of night watchmen were entered in the same book. Two other lists, both of the end of last century, have been kindly shown to us; but we are not at liberty to mention their whereabouts, their owners having, in our opinion, exaggerated views of their value and importance. We believe both of them (in their earlier parts) to be more or less inexact copies of Mr. Markham's chronicle.

In one of the last editions of Freeman & Son's small *History of Northampton*, published in 1847, the list of mayors and bailiffs is carried back to the year 1377. It is not stated whence this information is derived, but after considerable inquiry it came to our knowledge that there is in the University Library, Dublin, a roll of Northampton mayors and bailiffs, beginning with the first year of Richard II. and ending with the first year of Edward IV. This seems to be the source of Freeman's extended list. A literal transcript has been kindly supplied to us of the Dublin roll; the librarian is unable to state when or how the manuscript came into the possession of the University. The date of the original writing of this roll seems to be 1458 or 1459, only the conclusion having been added, the remainder being written at the same time, and hence a copy of an earlier edition now lost. This Dublin roll is interspersed with a few brief interpolations of important national events, but has hardly any local allusions. Under the sixth year of Richard II. is recorded:—

Terræ motus fuit die festum pent'. Et in dicto Anno surrectio in Kent per Jak Strawe qui interfectus fuit p' Wallemorthe tunc Maior London.

Subsequently, the battle of Wakefield and a few other later events are set forth at greater length. Throughout the reign of Henry IV. the occupations of the

respective mayors and bailiffs are for the most part set forth, which adds much to the value of the list.

It is impossible to go back earlier than 1377 for a complete list of the town officers, but no pains have been spared in the search to carry the lists back over a considerable period. After consulting a very large number of old deeds at the British Museum and Public Record Office, as well as all the early evidences among the town muniments, upwards of two score of the names of mayors (and about the same of pairs of bailiffs) prior to 1377 have been recovered. Where they occurred in ordered deeds the probable year has been given preceded by a (?) for safety. These are all now for the first time printed.

The search for these earlier names to some extent qualifies the opinion previously expressed (pp. 14, 50) as to the date when the title of mayor was first used in Northampton. It now becomes evident that the change from the title of reeve to mayor came about in Northampton in the reign of Richard I., the town thus adopting with London and York in being the first to adopt this memorable change of municipal titles. The three documents of the reign of Richard I., wherein the name of William Fitz-Ou, or Fitz-Ou, or Fitz-Ou, is given as mayor of Northampton, are in Latin. Had they been in Norman French it might have been said that this only was a colloquial rendering of reeve.

In drawing up the following list of mayors, every known list has been utilized, the early one at Dublin, the five manuscript ones in private hands, Freeman's printed list, and the very inaccurate list on the small shields in the lower hall of the Town Hall. Every one of the lists hitherto given have got confused and wrong dated from the middle of Edward's reign, by leaving out the mayor who was elected in 1377.

From the year 1553 downwards we can pledge ourselves that the following list is absolutely correct, because each name has been taken immediately from the orders of assembly or other extant contemporary town records.

The year affixed to each mayor's name (and the same holds good in the subsequent list of bailiffs) is the one of his election. This is the only safe and correct course to adopt. If the two years over which the mayor presides are hyphened together, or the latter year adopted (because since 1835 it includes most of his reign), there is considerable probability of a wrong date creeping in and confusion being caused.

Up to 1835, the mayor and bailiffs were elected on St. Hugh's Day, August 17, which was termed "choice day." The newly appointed mayor did not, however, come into office till September 29th, being termed "the mayor's joint," that is, to some extent joint mayor, up to the latter date. If either mayor or bailiff died or were incapacitated between August 9th and September 29th, the ones chosen in August at once stepped into office without further formality. It should also be remembered that new year's day was March 25th (and not January 1st) until 1753, so that up to that date the year prefixed to the mayor's name represents by far the larger portion of the twelve-month for which he held office.

Where two names are given under one year, it implies the death of the one named during his year of office.

1189. Richard I.	William Tilly
" "	Roger Fitztheobald
1230	Robert the mayor
1250	Robert Spicer
1253	William Gangy
1260	Benedict Dodd
1264	John the Apothecary
1267	John Le Moyne
1270	William Fitzthomas
1271	John Spicer
1273	John Spicer
1274	William le Pesson
1277	John de Staunford
1280	Robert Fitzhenry
1282	Robert Fitzhenry
1286	Robert Fitzhenry
1289	Robert Fitzhenry
1290	John le Megre
1297	Pentecost de Kershalton
1304	Robert de Bedford
1307	Robert de Rous
1311	John de Staunford
1316	Henry Garlekmonger
1318	Philip de Caysho
1321	Robert de Burgh
1322	John le Waydour
1324	Robert le Rous
1325	Henry Garlekmonger
1326	Simon de Levishull
1327	Simon de Levishull
1328	Walter de Burgh
1334	John de Lungevill
1335	John de Lungevill
1338	Adam de Cottysbrok
1343	Thomas de Staunford
1349	Sir John de Vyneter
1357	William Wakelynge
1360	John de Getyngton
1361	John de Getyngton
1367	William Wakelynge
1369	John de Getyngton
1372	John de Getyngton
1377	John Gedington
1378	John Shrovesbury
1379	John Haughton
1380	Simon Daventry
1381	Lawrence Haddon
1382	Thomas Wakelyne
1383	Thomas Sutton
1384	John Fox
1385	John Shrovesbury
1386	Simon Daventry
1387	John Grigge (draper)
1388	Henry Lavender
1389	Thomas Sprygy (draper)
1390	Simon Daventry
1391	Richard Spicer
1392	John Fox
1393	John Shrovesbury
1394	Thomas Wakelyne
1395	Henry Cayso (draper)
1396	John Shrovesbury
1397	William Shefford
1398	William Shefford
1399	John Fox
1400	John Fox
1401	John Loutheham (woolman)
1402	Thomas Sprygy
1403	Thomas Overton (draper)
1404	John Sywell
1405	John Shrovesbury
1406	William Wale
1407	Simon Spycer (mercer)
1408	William Shefford
1409	Henry Cayso
1410	John Sprynge (mercer)
1411	John Weller (draper)
1412	Thomas Wedon
1413	John Gregory (ironmonger)
1414	John Sprynge (mercer)
1415	John Sprynge (mercer)
1416	John Loutheham
1417	Thomas Warwyk
1418	Thomas Sale
1419	Thomas Sale
1420	John Sprygy (draper)
1421	Richard Wemys
1422	Thomas Sale
1423	Thomas Sale
1424	Henry Cayso
1425	John Sprygy
1426	John Sprygy

1507	Henry Humphrey
1508	John Saxby
1509	John Perven
1510	Richard Crispe
	John Watts *
1511	John Smith
	John Hilton
1512	Roger Gold
1513	Thomas Penny
1514	Thomas Chipsey
1515	John Walker
1516	William Band
1517	Richard Dickson
1518	Richard Wheeler
1519	John Saxby
1520	Richard Bowers
1521	John Buckby
1522	Richard Howard
1523	Thomas Addington
1524	John Perven
1525	Lawrence Manley
1526	John Motte
1527	Thomas Chipsey
1528	William Band
1529	Richard A'Bowers
1530	Richard Dickson
1531	John Saxby
1532	Lawrence Washington
1533	Richard Wilkinson
1534	Nicholas Rands
1535	Lawrence Manley
1536	William Wager
1537	John Motte
1538	Thomas Chipsey
1539	Henry Neal
1540	Richard A'Bowers
1541	John Brightwell
1542	Anthony Bryan
1543	Christopher Bernard
1544	Richard Johnson
1545	Lawrence Washington
1546	Richard Wilkinson
1547	Lawrence Manley †
	John Browne
1548	Henry Clark
1549	John Browne
1550	Ralph ‡ Freeman
1551	Nicholas Rands
1552	Henry Neal
1553	George Coldwell
1554	William Taylor
	William Petnall
1555	Anthony Bryan
1556	John Balguy
1557	Lawrence Manley, jun.
	John Browne
1558	John Long
1559	Edward Manley
1560	Thomas Hopkins
1561	Thomas Collis
1562	Ralph Maynard
1563	Richard Wharloe
1564	Thomas Pemerton
1565	John Balguy
1566	Edward Manley
1567	John Bryan
1568	Henry Wandley
1569	Thomas Hopkins
1570	Ralph Maynard
1571	Richard Wharloe
1572	John Heneman
1573	Henry [illegible]
1574	Edward Manley
1575	Edward [illegible]
1576	Henry [illegible]
1577	William [illegible] §

* Two other lists have Thomas Watts, and a third [illegible].

† Lawrence Manley died in his mayoralty, and was [illegible] By a remarkable coincidence, when Lawrence Manley, jun., was [illegible] his mayoralty, and was in the [illegible] followed by [illegible].

‡ Ralph, not Raphael, as given in all the lists. [illegible] alphs, and not Raphaels.

§ Strange to say, this mayor [illegible] lped more than anything else to [illegible] perfectly explicit as to his name and [illegible]. [illegible] semblies of his year.

1578	John Bryan
1579	Thomas Crosswell
1580	John Hopkins
1581	John Kyrtlande *
1582	Lawrence Manley
1583	John Mercer
1584	John Hensman
1585	William Rainsford
1586	John Bucheno
1587	Thomas Humphrey
1588	Thomas Crosswell
1589	John Holland
1590	Thomas Fryer
1591	John Cooper
1592	Lawrence Ball
1593	John Bryan
1594	Edward Mercer
1595	George Rainsford
1596	Thomas Crosswell
1597	John Mercer
1598	Thomas Humphrey
1599	Edward Hensman
1600	Thomas Atkins
1601	Thomas Judkins
1602	Edward Mercer
1603	George Rainsford
1604	Thomas Crosswell
1605	George Crosswell
1606	Ralph Higham
1607	Edward Hensman
1608	Francis Fryer
1609	Abraham Winters
1610	Thomas Bradford
1611	Ralph Humphrey
1612	Edward Mercer
1613	Robert Rainsford
1614	Lawrence Rainsford
1615	James Mercer
1616	Thomas Martin
1617	George Rainsford
1618	Edward Collis
1619	Raphael Humphrey
1620	Henry Chadwick
1621	Thomas Cooper
1622	Richard Woollaston
1623	Thomas Gutteridge †
1624	Thomas Martin
1625	Roger Sargent
1626	William Knight
1627	John Danbie
1628	John Gifford
1629	John Harbert
1630	John Bott
1631	Matthew Silesbie §
1632	John Twigden
1633	Thomas Cowper
1634	Thomas Gutteridge
	Thomas Martin
1635	William Knight
1636	John Gifford
1637	William Collis
1638	Richard Fowler
1639	John Danby
1640	John Fisher
1641	Lawrence Ball
1642	John Gifford
1643	Francis Rushworth
1644	Joseph Sergeant
1645	Samuel Martin
1646	Peter Whalley
1647	John Spicer
1648	Thomas Pendleton
1649	Matthew Sisbie
1650	Benoni Coldwell
1651	Thomas Maynard
1652	Lawrence Woollaston
1653	Henry Spragg
1654	Edward Collis
1655	Peter Whaley
	John Spicer

* [illegible] to be read in all the lists. The town hall list has "Jo[illegible] Rist[illegible] [illegible] Rest[illegible]."

† Not [illegible] in some lists.

‡ Not [illegible] several lists.

§ [illegible] there are three variants to the spelling of this mayor's name [illegible]. In the lists he appears also as S[illegible]sby, S[illegible]sbie, S[illegible]sbye.

1656 Joseph Sergeant
1657 Jonathan Whiston
1658 William Selby
1659 Thomas Collins
1660 John Twigden
1661 Thomas Thornton
1662 William Spencer (deposed by K. Charles)
John Brayfield
1663 William Vaughan
1664 Francis Pickmer
1665 John Friend (Frend or Freind)
1666 Richard Rands
1667 Richard Massingberd
1668 John Stevens
John Friend
1669 William Spencer
1670 Edward Collis
1671 Joseph Sergeant
1672 John Willoughby
1673 John Howes
1674 Jonathan Whiston
1675 Edward Knighton
1676 John Friend
1677 John Friend
1678 Richard White
1679 Richard White
1680 Bartholomew Manning
1681 William Else
1682 Thomas Atterbury
1683 Thomas Sergeant
1684 Robert Styles
1685 Robert Ives, jun.
1686 Theophilus Whiston
1687 William Wallis (deposed by K. James)
John Willoughby
1688 Henry Flexney (deposed by K. James)
John Selby
1689 James Green
1690 Thomas Chadwick *
1691 John Clark
1692 William Agutter
1693 Samuel Clifford
1694 John Collis
1695 Jonathan Warner
1696 Robert Ives, jun.
1697 John Clarke
1698 John Hoare
John Clarke
1699 Thomas Brafield
1700 Edward Ivory
1701 William Pettitt
1702 Benjamin Bullivant
1703 Samuel Clifford
1704 John Whithorne
1705 John Clarke (draper)
1706 Richard Sanders, sen.
1707 Henry Jeffcutt
1708 Samuel Lyon
1709 Samuel Lyon
1710 Joseph Woolston
1711 John Agutter
1712 John Clarke
1713 Thomas Carr (grocer)
1714 Thomas Peach, sen.
1715 John Loasbey
1716 John Wallis
1717 John Wallis
1718 Richard Jeffcott
1719 Thomas Ives
1720 Richard Sanders
1721 Paul Agutter
1722 William Burt
1723 Thomas Hayes
1724 Nicholas Jeffcutt
1725 Nicholas Battin
1726 George Thompson
1727 Samuel Williamson
1728 Samuel Plackett
1729 John Pratt
1730 Nathaniel Easton
1731 Thomas Peach, jun.
1732 Edward Bayly
1733 John Woolston
1734 John Battin
1735 John Fawsitt †

* Two of the lists have respectively Chaddock and Haddock.
† The lists give Fawcett, Fawcitt, and Fossett.

[illegible] Thomas King
[illegible] Benjamin Chapman
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible], jun.
[illegible] George [illegible]
[illegible] John [illegible]
[illegible] Charles [illegible]
[illegible] William [illegible]
[illegible] John [illegible]
[illegible] John [illegible]
[illegible] William [illegible]
[illegible] Charles [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] John [illegible]
[illegible] George Thompson
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] William [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] John Fox
[illegible] Robert [illegible]
[illegible]

1780 William Thompson
1781 Clarke Hillyard
1782 William Marshall
1783 James Sutton
1784 Richard Mills
1785 William Gibson
1786 Samuel Treslove
1787 Hill Gudgeon
1788 Richard Meacock
1789 Thomas Hall
1790 John Lucy
1791 James Muse
1792 William Francis
1793 Jeremiah Boggs
1794 Thomas Hall
1795 Thomas Hall
1796 Charles Smith
1797 John Matthew Hopkins
1798 Francis Osborn
1799 George Osborn
1800 Thomas Jesson
1801 Samuel Holt
1802 Charles Freeman
1803 William Birdsall
1804 Francis Haven
William Gibson
[illegible]

1824 James Castell
1825 Edward Gates
1826 Daniel Hewlett
1827 Francis Mulliner
1828 John Marshall
1829 John Marshall
1830 Henry Lenton Stockburn
1831 John Phipps
1832 John Freeman
1833 William Fisher Morgan
1834 William Gates
1835 Charles Freeman
1836 George Peach
1837 George Peach
1838 Thomas Hagger
1839 Thomas Sharp
1840 William Williams
1841 William Turner
1842 Edward Harrison Barwell
1843 Edward Harrison Barwell
1844 Edward Harrison Barwell
1845 John Groom
1846 Thomas Sharp
1847 Joseph Wykes
1848 Joseph Wykes
1849 Francis Parker
1850 Francis Parker
1851 Thomas Hagger
1852 Philadelphus Jeyes
1853 William Williams
1854 William Dennis
1855 Christopher Markham
1856 William Thomas Higgins
1857 William Hensman
1858 William Roberts
1859 Edmund Francis Law
1860 Pickering Phipps
1861 Henry Philip Markham
1862 John Phipps
1863 Mark Dorman
1864 Thomas Osborne
1865 James Barry
1866 Pickering Phipps
1867 J. Berridge Norman
1868 J. Middleton Vernon
1869 William Adkins
1870 Pickering P. Perry
1871 Henry Marshall
1872 William Jones
1873 Richard Turner
1874 William Adkins
1875 Joseph Gurney
1876 George Turner
1877 Thomas Tebbutt
1878 William Dennis
1879 Joseph Gurney
1880 Robert Derby
1881 William John Peirce
1882 William Coulson
1883 Moses Philip Manfield
1884 Thomas Adams
1885 Thomas Adams
1886 Richard Cleaver
1887 Frederick Covington
1888 James Barry
1889 William Mills
1890 George Norman
1891 Edwin Bridgewater
1892 Henry Martin
1893 Henry Edward Randall
1894 William Tomes
1895 Frederic Ellen
1896 Henry Edward Randall

LIST OF BAILIFFS.

c. 1230 Ralph Passelewe
Edmund
c. 1240 Luke Parmenter
Simon de Houton
c. 1250 Robert de Leycester
Ralph Passelewe
c. 1260 Richard de St. Neots
Henry de Stormesworthe
1270 William Fraunceys
Richard le Mustarder
1271 Gilbert de Blithesworth
Roger de Arderne

	1368	John de Porta	1372
		Adam de Winterton	
	1369	John Jervys	1377
		William Mont	
2.	1370	Bernard de St. Neots	1378
		Robert de Croumcrop	
	1371	William le Mercer	1379
		Hilbert de Somerton	
	1372	Pentecost de Kersbalton	1380
		Simon Wayrmaye	
	1373	William de Scole	1381
		William Barre	
	1374	Alexander de Navisworth	1382
		John de Burgo	
	1375	Samson Fitzpeter	1383
		John le Weyfour	
	1376	Henry le Weston	1384
		Bartholomew de Revey	
	1377	William Eys	1385
		John de Cogeho	
	1378	William de Burgo	1386
		John de Spaldwyk	
	1379	John de Stratton	1387
		Geoffrey de Herlestone	
	1380	Henry de Boys	1388
		Henry Roger	
	1381	John Cauderon	1389
		Ralph de Cornhall	
	1382	Thomas de Stamford	1390
		Peter de Boys	
	1383	Osberius Sancer	1391
		Philip de Preford	

1396 Edmund Stychhall
Philip Darling (fishmonger)
1397 John Gregory
William Baggeworth
1398 John Wellys (draper)
William Best (ironmonger)
1399 Henry Impyngham
John Martyne
1400 William Curteys
Simon Walker
1401 Thomas Wedon
Lawrence Quinton
1402 John Pury
John Rusheden (fishmonger)
1403 Richard Arcy (mercer)
William Barry (hosier)
1404 William Wodehouse
Nicholas Tidymann (skinner)
1405 John Tiningham
John Revell (dyer)
1406 Richard Arderne
William Harpole (roper)
1407 Thomas Wynteringham (painter)
Richard Lenche (barber)
1408 Richard Wemmes (apothecary)
1409 John Hendeley
William Patte
1410 Roger Maltman (fishmonger)
John Gryme
1411 Nicholas Hilton (baker)
John Darby (ostler)
1412 William Clerke (mercer)
William Rusheden (hosier)
1413 Geoffrey Ball
Roger Barber
1414 John Gyles (pardoner *)
Alexander Deyster
1415 Thomas Pole (notary)
John Spriggy (draper)
1416 John Baldeswell (draper)
John Pury (draper)
1417 John Stottesbury (draper)
John Hancock (mercer)
1418 John Barry (mercer)
William Pury (draper)
1419 John Bray (mercer)
John Coly
1420 William Boteler
John Godewyn (fuller)
1421 John Barteram (mercer)
William Dryffeld (dyer)
1422 Richard Ashebourne (glover)
William Maltman (mercer)
1423 Thomas Knightley (baker)
John Rockingham (glover)
1424 Henry Stone (man of law)
Charles Wylscote (clothmaker)
1425 Richard Warde (dyer)
Joseph Tiringham (ironmonger)
William Coke (butcher)
1426 John Maxey (fuller)
John Church (fuller)
1427 John Store (mercer)
Walter Albone (barber)
1428 Thomas Saxby (mercer)
Thomas Bottesham (ironmonger)
1429 William Horncastle (pardoner)
Richard Goslyn (saddler)
1430 Thomas Aleyn (fishmonger)
Ralph Sadler
1431 Ralph Passenham (yeoman)
Thomas Toucester (fuller)
1432 John Oxenford (taylor)
Thomas Cory (fletcher †)
Simon Saddler
1433 Thomas Deraunt (ironmonger)
William Peryn (mercer)
1434 William Rusheden (draper)
John Reve (hosier)
1435 Thomas Chandler
Gilbert Lyster (hosier)
1436 John Allgoode (weaver)
Thomas Evesham (butcher)

* A pardoner was a dealer in ecclesiastical pardons and indulgences.

† A fletcher was a maker of arrows.

1479 William Flower
Roger Butler
1480 Henry Humphrey
Thomas Bradfield
1481 John Sakin
John Willis
1482 John Buckby
John More
1483 Hugh Woodfall
Simon Rowland
1484 William Buckby
John Waded
1485 Robert Shepherd
John Daune
1486 John Watts
Thomas Boddington
1487 John Dissey
John Butler
1488 William Manningham
John Man
1489 John Wolfe
William Nicholas
1490 Richard Storer
John Stanbridge
1491 William Prentice
John Rosehend
1492 John West
Matthew Sweyne
1493 John Smith
Edward Chamberlain
1494 John Sayer
William Parvin
1495 Richard Norton
John Norton
1496 Simon West
John Boyers
1497 Walter Chamberlain
John Page
1498 John Marshall
Thomas Riledge
1499 Thomas Lyon
Christopher Reading
1500 Richard Crispe
Richard Greene
1501 Thomas Parker
Thomas Willowes
1502 John Hilton
John Mankin
1503 John Harris
John Woodward
1504 Thomas Brown
Thomas Bradfield
1505 John Hollwell
John Saxbie
1506 John Walker
John Perren
1507 Thomas Young
Richard Wheeler
1508 John Buckby
Richard Alward
1509 William Band
Thomas Chipsey
1510 Richard Abowers
Richard Dainty
1511 William Green
Richard Dickson
1512 William Whetfield
Thomas Doddington
1513 John Watts
John Mordock
1514 Richard Heward
William Goffe
1515 William Wager
William Marshall
1516 William Shefford
Thomas Adams
1517 Thomas Wilver
Roger Meadney
1518 John Longe
Thomas Pemberton
1519 Henry Arrowsmith
Richard Rewe
1520 John Walker
Roger Sturdy
1521 Lawrence Manley
John Warner
1522 Richard Wilkinson
Thomas Woodders
1523 Richard Godfrey
John Godfrey
1524 Nicholas Rands
Thomas Marshall

1571 William Merry
John Holhead
1572 Robert Rands
Lawrence Manley
1573 John Hopkins
John Bichenoe
1574 John Brooks
Thomas Humphrey
1575 John Lowick
Nicholas Cleator
1576 George Bradshaw
Richard Crosse
1577
1578 Christopher Roson
John Kynesworth
1579 Thomas Adkins
Robert Lee
1580 Lawrence Manley
Thomas Cooper
1581 Henry Wharley
Henry Boddington
1582 Richard Watts
Richard Hensman
1583 John Langham
George Blood
1584 William Barrow
Nicholas Parker
1585 John Maynard
Hugh Coales
1586 John Wigston
Robert Story
1587 Thomas Sanbrook
Edward James
1588 Thomas Judkins
George Rainsford
1589 James Wilkinson
Abraham Ventris
1590 Stephen Ball
William Harpoll
1591 Edward Hensman
Nicholas Brookes
1592 Roger Highman
Edward Mercer
1593 Roger Pendleton
Robert Babbington
1594 Thomas Potter
Edward Martin
1595 Robert Reason
William Wheelows
1596 Robert Fisher
Thomas Rands
1597 Lawrence Raynsford
Henry Eynsworth
1598 Thomas Bradford
Francis Fisher
1599 Henry Holland
John Taylor
1600 Richerd Britten
Richerd Walmsley
1601 Henry Chadwick
Thomas Chadwick
1602 George Caldwell
James Mercer
1603 Edward Hunter
Raphael Humphrey
1604 Richard Woolaston
Thomas Goothridge
1605 John Danby
Arthur Potter
1606 Lawrence Ball
Matthew Silsby
1607 Thomas Martin
William Rugby
1608 John Mayne
John Twigden
1609 John Willowes
William Walton
1610 Richard Smart
John Green
1611 John Blood
John Crick
1612 Lawrence Watts
William Bayley
1613 Richard Truman
Thomas Cooper
1614 Robert Maine
Edward Collis
1615 Henry Todd
Richard Nichols
1616 Roger Sergent
Tobie Coldwell

1617	Roger Wilkinson
	Abraham Mynors
1618	William Laves
	John Herbert
1619	Edward Thorogood
	Richard Chapman
1620	John Bott
	Samuel Smith
1621	William Knight
	Thomas Ball
1622	Henry Silesby
	William Brookes
1623	Christopher Saunders
	John Giffard
1624	Simon Eynesworth
	Richard Fowler
1625	Nathaniel Benbow
	Thomas Judkin
1626	George Crick
	John Scriven
1628	Thomas Pindleton
	William Collis
1629	William Rainsford
	Edward Burgoyne
1630	John Pindleton
	John Prior
1631	Thomas Collins
	Samuel Martin
1632	William Holman
	Joseph Sergeant
1633	William Smith
	John Smith
1634	Robert Heyes
	William Sergeant
1635	Francis Rushworth
	John Smart
1636	George Godman
	Peter Whalley
1637	Benoni Caldwell
	John Spicer
1638	Henry Hill
	John Cole
1639	John Bryan
	Edward Cooper
1640	Martin Tomkins
	Henry Spriggs
1641	Jonathan Whiston
	John Holmes
1642	Richard Rands
	Matthew Silsby
1643	William Selby
	John Selby
1644	Henry Lee
	John Twigden
1645	Daniel Symonds
	Edward Collis
1646	Roger Williams
	Lawrence Woolaston
1647	John Friend
	Thomas Cowper
1648	Henry Stratford
	Thomas Collins
1649	John Parr
	William Spicer
1650	John Ball
	John Welford
1651	Edward Chadwick
	John Bradfield
1652	James Woolaston
	John Steward
1653	John Atterbury
	Joseph Hensman
1654	Samuel Poole
	Richard Massingberd
1655	William Moore
	John Ventris
1656	William Spencer
	Thomas Stevens
1657	Robert Coles
	John Howes
1658	Thomas Judkins
	Samuel Herbert
1659	William Scarborough
	Thomas Sergeant
1660	Robert Cockrayne
	John Ivory
1661	William Vaughan
	John Woolston
1662	John Clarke (deposed)
	Samuel Benbow (depo
	Francis Pickmer
	Lawrence Tomkins

1663 Thomas Atterbury
Robert Addis
1664 Edward Parker
Ralph Caldwell
1665 John Somers
Richard Eborall
1666 Walter Stamford
Walter Boddington
1667 Theophilus Wilson
Thomas Whithorn
1668 Edward Knighton
William Else
1669 William Wallis
Edward Ivory
1670 George Rowell
John Biddles
1671 William Agutter
James Green
1672 Henry Flaxney
Robert Ives
1673 Bartholomew Manning
Charles Lyon
1674 Daniel Poole
Nicholas King
1675 John Parr
Samuel Short
1676 Edward Ward
Robert Ives jun.
1677 Richard White
Robert Styles
1678 Paul Burchier
Jonathan Peake
1679 John Lucas
John Selby
1680 Richard Buckingham
Richard Ward
1681 Henry Jeffcutt
Samuel Clifford
1682 Jonathan Warner
William Pettitt
1683 Thomas Chadwick
Robert Saunders
1684 John Oldham
William Burt
1685 Edward Bayley
George Hayes
1686 Richard Clifford
Christopher Poyner
1687 Richard Saunders (deposed)
Henry Woolston (deposed)
Henry Lee
Jeremy Friend
1688 Thomas Claridge (deposed)
Edward Hillier (deposed)
John Fowler
Thomas Dust
1689 John Hoare
Edward Ivory
1690 Thomas Brafield
John Wallis
1691 John Whithorn
John Selby
1692 John Clarke jun.
Richard Medbury
1693 Thomas Tuckwell
William Shepherd
1694 John King
Thomas Clifford
1695 John Herbert
Lewis Martin
1696 John Burkitt
John Bradshaw
1697 Francis Battin
George Rowell
1698 Edward Tredder
Henry Osmond
1699 John Manning
John Bayley
1700 Daniel Cockerill
James Hackleton
1701 John Agutter
Walter Cockerill
1702 Francis Greenough
William Pheasant
1703 William Green
Thomas Clarke
1704 Nicholas Plowman
John Clarke (grocer)
1705 John Eakins
Henry Woolston
1706 Thomas Peach
Samuel Plackett

1753	Stamford Farrin jun.
	Richard Morris
1754	Richard Meacock
	William Payne
1755	Henry Cranwell
	William Steward
1756	Valentine Cook
	Samuel Wainwright
1757	William Sutton
	Joseph Easton
1758	John Hollis
	Solomon Ashby
1759	Joseph Elston
	Simon Collis
1760	William Peake
	Robert Trasler
1761	John Dawes
	John Clarke
1762	Richard Fox
	Richard Beal
1763	Samuel Swinfen
	William Davis
1764	Samuel Sturgess
	George Sanders
1765	Thomas Swan
	Martin Lucas
1766	Thomas Britten
	John Edwards
1767	William Gibson
	John Newcombe
1768	Henry Woolley
	Edward Kirby
1769	Henry Duke
	Henry Thompson
1770	William King
	Edward Cole
1771	Thomas Chambers
	Robert Lucas
1772	Richard Mills
	William Bagley
1773	James Sutton
	William Chamberlain
1774	Robert Billson
	William Thompson
1775	William Woolston
	James Clarke
1776	William Balaam
	Edward Cox
1777	Charles Smith
	John Hollis
1778	Thomas Dickenson
	John Potter
1779	Thomas Scriven
	William Francis
1780	Clarke Hillyard
	Charles Balaam
1781	John Lacy
	William Marshall
1782	James Brown
	Samuel Stanton
1783	James Miller
	Hill Gudgeon
1784	Thomas Johnson
	Thomas Smith
1785	Samuel Treslove
	Richard Meacock
1786	John Segary
	Joseph Edge
1787	Thomas Hodgkinson
	William Lockett
1788	Thomas Hall
	John Matthew Hopkins
1789	John Chambers
	William Cook
1790	Jeremiah Briggs
	William Ager
1791	Benjamin Goodman
	James Cliff
1792	Edward Wood
	John Harris
1793	Timothy Chapman
	Francis Shaw
1794	George Osborn
	Samuel Holt
1795	George Osborne
	Samuel Holt
1796	Francis Osborn
	Thomas Taylor
1797	Thomas Catterne
	John Gibson
1798	John Fletcher
	William Birdsall

1563 Thomas Somerton
1564 John Danbrooke
1565 Symon Storie
1566 Richard Watts
1567 Henry Clarke
1568 . . .
1569 Thomas Craswell
1570 William Merry
1571 William Bradfield
1572 Oliver Fell
1573 Christopher Broughton
1574 Lawrence Ball
. . .
1581 George Bradshawe
1582 Nicholas Parker
1583 Robert Randes
1584 Robert Dukes
1585 Christopher Rowson
1586 . . .
1587 Richard Wattes
1588 . . .
1589 William Borrowe
1590 Thomas Potter
1591 . . .
1592 Henry Holled
1593 Hugh Coles
1594 Henry Chadwick
1595 Thomas Judkyn
1596 Richard Woollaston
1597 Robert Babington
1598 Edward Hunter (taylor)
1599 Abraham Ventris (malster)
. . .
1607 Henry Chadwick
James Mercer
1608 Henry Chadwick
James Mercer
1609 Henry Chadwick
James Mercer
1610 Henry Chadwick
James Mercer
1611 James Mercer
Henry Chadwick
1612 Henry Chadwick
James Mercer
1613 Henry Chadwick
James Mercer
1614 Henry Chadwick
James Mercer
1615 Henry Chadwick
John Danbye
1616 Thomas Potter
Thomas Cowper
1617 Thomas Potter
Thomas Cowper jun.
1618 Thomas Potter
Thomas Cowper jun.
1619 Thomas Potter
Thomas Cowper jun.
1620 Thomas Cowper jun.
William Knight
1621 John Harbert
Henry Sillesbye
1622 John Harbert
William Knight
1623 John Harbert
William Knight
1624 William Knight
Thomas Ball
1625 William Knight
Thomas Ball
1626 Thomas Ball
Symon Einsworth
1627 Christopher Saunderson
Symon Einsworth
1628 Christopher Saunderson
Symon Einsworth
1629 Christopher Saunderson
Symon Einsworth
1630 Christopher Saunderson
Symon Einsworth
1631 Symon Einsworth
William Collis
1632 Symon Einsworth
William Collis
1633 Symon Eynsworth
William Collis
1634 Symon Einsworth
William Collis
1635 Thomas Judkyn
William Collins

1781	James Sutton	1799	Thomas Taylor
1782	James Sutton	1800	Samuel Holt
1783	John Lacy	1801	Richard Scriven
1784	John Lacy	1802	Richard Scriven
1785	Francis Hayes	1803	John Fletcher
1786	Francis Hayes	1804	John Fletcher
1787	James Miller	1805	Joshua Cooch
1788	James Miller	1806	Luke Kershaw
1789	James Miller	1807	William Dunkley
1790	James Miller	1808	William Dunkley
1791	Thomas Scriven	1809	Marmaduke Newby
1792	Thomas Scriven	1810	Marmaduke Newby
1793	John Segary	1811	John Shortgrave
1794	John Segary	1812	John Shortgrave
1795	John Segary	1813	Charles Whitworth
1796	John Matthew Hopkins	1814	Charles Whitworth
1797	Francis Osborne	1815 to 1829	Alderman Samu[illegible]
1798	George Osborne	1830 to 1835	Hugh Higgins

LIST OF TOWN CLERKS.

[The first four are from deeds, the rest from the books of the corporation

1321	William de Burgo	1657	Hatton Farmer
1396	Thomas Abowers	1660	John Fowler
1460	John Towcester	1662	Henry Lee
1471	John Launden	1688	Anthony Plant
1512	John Prentes	1690	Henry Lee (re-elected)
		1705	George Rowell
1548	John Sixbi	1765	John Jeyes
1578	Thomas Swinbrooke	1772	Theophilus Jeyes
1592	George Coldwell	1837	John Hensman
1618	Tobias Coldwell	1857	John Jeffery
1654	Tempest Cooke	1869	William Sh[illegible]smith

LIST OF TOWN STEWARDS

[The first eight are from deeds, the remainder from the books of the corp[illegible]

1295	William Morvin	?	John Reading
1310	William de Herton	1634	Robert Woodford
1342	Ralph de Boston	1654	William R[illegible]shton
1374	Robert Sibthorpe	1665	Henry R[illegible]shton
1404	William Martyn	1683	Richard Harris
1437	George Swayen	1688	Francis Reading
1470	Martin Weedon	1702	John Rose
1497	Geoffrey Holdenby	1712	John Stokes
		?	John Rowell
1509	John Brooke	1768	William Markham
1592	John Brooke jun.	1776	John Markham
1620	William Brooke		

LIST OF THE SERJEANTS-AT-MACE, OR MAYOR'S SERJEANTS.

1567 James Thackeray
1589 John Glover
1608 Edward Smith
1647 Simon Einsworth
1652 John Cole
1657 Henry Lee
1668 Henry Lee jun.
1689 Matthew Barnes
1702 Nicholas King
1712 William Barcole
1721 Nicholas Stratforde
1722 John Moore
1725 Brian Alliston
1735 Walter Cockerell
1742 Thomas Stuart
1766 Joseph Satchwell
1776 Keeling Williamson
1791 Samuel Wainwright
1799 John Wright
1801 Charles Balaam
1820 John Alliston

LIST OF THE TOWN CRIERS OR BELLMEN.

1572 Simon Hodgekyn
1606 Thomas Coles
1626 — Appletree
1658 George Marshall
? Thomas Peedle
1696 John Boone
? Brian Rushworth
1706 Daniel Sanders
1718 Thomas Hanson
? Benjamin Farrin
1745 Robert Moore
? Samuel Foulkes
1750 Robert Cox
1777 John Smith
1785 John Roberts

LIST OF MASTERS OF THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

1565 Mr. Thackaray
1584 Mr. Saunderson
1607 Simon Wastell
1632 Daniel Rogers, M.A.
1641 Mr. Martin
1642 Mr. Goodricke
1646 Ferdinando Archer, M.A.
1696 Robert Styles
1722 John Clarke
1748 Richardson Wood
1764 W. Williams
1765 Samuel Rogers
1769 Thomas Woolley
1797 John Stoddart
1827 Charles Cutbush

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